

INSIDE: THE PROUD REBIRTH OF CANADA'S FLEET

Maclean's

MAY 30, 1988

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPRINGTIME IN MOSCOW



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MAY 20, 1995, VOL. 181 NO. 20

COVER

Springtime in Moscow

As Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev prepared for their fourth summit, to be held in Moscow from May 28 to June 2, *Maclean's* went undercover as their city and putting on display the country's new policy of openness. But for Gorbachev a bigger challenge lay in a critical special Communist party congress on his controversial reform program. —Page 29

COVER PHOTO BY PETER TURNER FOR MACLEAN'S



An alarming vacuum

Stock markets went into a tailspin last week despite positive economic developments, as nervous investors continued to search for less risky havens for their money. —Page 34



A breeding western breeze

Teaming up with legendary producer Owen Bradley on her new album, *Shadowland*, Canada's eccentric country star kicked long in new taking Nashville by storm. —Page 58



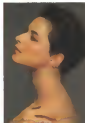
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Rebirth of the navy

Mila Murnane christened the first Canadian warship to be launched in 17 years as the military continues a shopping spree unmatched in peacetime history. —Page 9



A fantasy love affair

In her latest movie, actress Isabel Rossellini plays a woman who has an affair with a man played by her real-life love, director David Lynch. —Page 66

Attracting a bilingual backlash

If we insist that each province promote the other official language ("More than a war of words," *Canada's Newsweek*, April 25) we impose a considerable burden for the translation of all official material and the language instruction of employees at a time when most provincial governments are struggling to fund essential social services. However, if we leave each province to find its own way of preserving the bilingual character of the country, the province will set its own pace, responsibly (considering its financial resources) and respecting the social realities of its own society. To impose the cost of translation and bilingual service on an unwilling taxpayer is in itself a backlash—hardly conducive to the cause. It is even more galling if it means cutbacks in health and education services. The Prime Minister has shown leadership in concerning the province to agree to a common goal; he is right to leave it up to individual provinces to determine how to reach that goal. The ideal of bilingualism will only be achieved with creativity and common sense—qualities that do not bloom under enforcement. —MARGARET DENCKEL, Ottawa

Your cover story of April 25 was timely and appreciated. It was tarnished, however, by an editorial bias best

illustrated by the fading articles on Gravelbourg, Sask., and North Hawke, Que. In these essays, you praise Gravelbourg's resistance to English assimilation and North Hawke's efforts to learn and use French. Since both of these communities exist in ostensibly antilingual environments, one is forced to conclude that you believe it is all right to defend French as a minority language, but English may be eased out. I wonder if you would have been as gracious about a small town in Quebec defending its English culture, or a small town in Saskatchewan forbidden by law to use French in its daily business.

—DAVID L. BISHOP, Toronto

Has the whole expanding field of minority rights and demands become excessive? The Heterizable Giant Devine of Saskatchewan seems to be saying that the majority has rights too. —ALAN A. DAVENPORT, Montreal, B.C.

An aging upstart

Maclean's and the business media's head-line use of the words "aging" and "aged" when describing Air Canada's Boeing 737 fleet is irrational and irksome ("Turbulence in the air," *Busi-*

ness/Economy, May 2). Compared with the airline's large fleet of DC-8s, which first entered Air Canada service in 1963, the three-engined 737 is an upstart that joined the fleet only in 1974. Generally speaking, the useful machine life of a jet airplane is about 20 years—with several years beyond that in second-level service—and, in my view, it's a bit premature to be calling the Boeing 737 "aged." The airplane was said to be one of the most successful commercial jets built. It's quiet, comfortable, reliable and a real workhorse in its domestic and transborder role. But fair's fair: The 737 isn't being replaced because it's old. Advances in sight and fuel management technology mean the same payload can now be handled by more efficient twin-engine aircraft—with obvious savings in operating costs. Evidently, there's no clear occasion to the venerable DC-8—and Air Canada's interior decision to upgrade rather than replace looks like an intelligent one. —BARBARA WALL, West Vancouver, B.C.

Letters are read and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address, telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean-Boswell Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto. Out 440-0100.

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Basking alone (left): active sex lives and a gift fit for a prince and princess

FOLLOW-UP

Sex and the multiple toad

It seemed like a good idea at the time. In 1938 the Sugar Cane Board of Queensland, Australia, reported about 100 cane toads from Hawaii and released them in the large northeastern state to fight cane beetles that were attacking the sugar cane crop. The toads proved to be incapable of controlling the beetles—but they were prolific. Now, the population of the mud-grey, foot-long creatures is in the millions—and they are spreading beyond Queensland. David Wilton Freeland, wildlife officer with the Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service, "They are eating out our native creatures by sheer force of numbers."

Of the two species of beetles that threatened the sugar cane crops 50 years ago, one regrettably did not fly low enough for cane toads to reach them and the other kept to open ground—where the toads shun. By the time pesticides began to control the beetles in 1965 the toad invasion had begun its current. One female can produce 80,000 eggs twice a year. And the males are remarkably unsexed, frequently trying to copulate with dead females, lumps of mud and even their own skins.

The toads can also be dangerous. If handled roughly they can secrete enough poison from glands concentrated behind their shoulders to kill a biting dog or disable a person for hours with a well-aimed squirt in the eye. At the same time, drug users have found that the poison leaves behind a hallucinogenic residue when the animals are boiled.

"They tell me it produces horrific emotions and some wars," said Det. Insp. Syd Churchill of the Cairns police department. The substance is now banned in Queensland, although that did not deter the 30-year-old man fined \$50 last year for dumping out onto a busy road. He grinned guiltily, claiming that the poison made him behave like a toad.

Still, some Australians are fond of the amphibians. "They are friendly creatures," said Elvira Craig, a middle-aged housewife in tiny Rossville, 200 km north of Brisbane, Queensland's capital. "They are my mates." And the toads have become an emblem of local culture. The Australian department of defense's wedding gift to Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, was a coat of arms embellished as cane toad skins. The Royal couple's reply: "It will be a pleasure to us throughout our married life." Meanwhile, a new Australian documentary, *Cane Toads—An Unnatural History*, is now a cult success.

Many Queenslanders—showing the individualism for which they are noted among Australians—have adopted the toad as an unofficial state symbol. In Mulgrave, near where the toads were first introduced, the towns council wished to erect a giant cane toad statue. The plans were dropped only after bitter debate—a sign that among other Australians, the cane toad remains a decidedly ambivalent mascot.

—SHEILA POELAN in Sydney



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Quality is Job 1.

All in the Hearst family

The energetic man seated in the padded office of the San Francisco Examiner bears a haunting resemblance to the famous figure in the septuagenary photograph hanging behind him. But William Randolph Hearst III is not the same kind of publisher as his legendary grandfather in the picture. William Randolph Hearst founded a powerful media empire, now including 15 newspapers, six TV stations and more than three dozen magazines, with revenues estimated to top \$2.1 billion in 1987. By the time he died in 1991 Hearst was as famous for his extravagant lifestyle—a Hollywood caricature and a fairy-tale castle home—as for the inflammatory newspapers that he published. By contrast, his 36-year-old grandson draws a regular salary from the company, drove, until recently, a run-down compact car and lives in central San Francisco with his architect wife, Nan, and their two children. But Will Hearst, as he prefers to be known, speaks of his grandfather with pride. "I would like to be half as good as he was," he says. "I am very proud of his

energy, sensibility and inventiveness." His grandfather's epitaph is just one tool that Hearst is using to help the Examiner—where he has been publisher since 1984—regain some of its former greatness. When Hearst took charge of the family corporation's flagship, the afternoon daily had been without a pub-

'Are you sure you know what you're doing, Will?' 'I don't know,' Hearst replies to his grandfather's ghost. 'Did you?'

lisher for two years and its circulation had dropped to 148,000 from 300,000 in its heyday as a morning paper in 1964. The reason: a crippling 50-year-old business arrangement, at first used 3005, which gives the late Chronicle exclusive rights to publish in the morning. The Examiner has maintained its circulation under Hearst, and last year it

won its first Pulitzer Prize—1986—for photography. But its new publisher has relied on additional innovations—the introduction of expert staff and unusual columnists—rather than the journalistic risks and eye-opening headlines that the first Hearst used after he bought the fledgling Examiner in 1887.

A product of the social and cultural revolutions of the 1960s, Will Hearst followed a circuitous route to the publisher's chair. As a long-haired Harvard student, he disagreed strongly with his family's editorial support of the war in Vietnam. After graduating in 1972—the first Hearst male to get a degree—he took a job as a reporter at the Examiner, then worked his way up to assistant managing editor at its sister paper, the Los Angeles Herald Examiner. Then, in 1979, Hearst discovered what it was like to be on the other side of a news story, when cousin Percy Hearst was abducted by guerrillas who called themselves the Synchrozone Liberation Army. Will Hearst, then 24, dealt with the media as the family spokesman. Says Hearst, "I have never felt so under the gun."

Hearst became a member of Hearst Corp.'s board of directors in 1975 but left it in 1977, when he was working as publisher of *Omaha*, an outdoor magazine then owned by *Selling* Group founder Juan Wotart. He returned to the Examiner in 1984 after a two-year hiatus for the family corporation in 1978

and was an executive in the cable-TV subsidiary when senior Hearst management offered him the Examiner job. After accepting, he says that he was relieved to find that there were few complaints of nepotism. "I felt as if I were in a familiar environment," he added, "and that made a tremendous difference."

Hearst returned to the Examiner at a time when newspapers had long fallen behind magazines such as *Consequence* as profit centers in the Hearst empire. But he tackled the paper's dismal minority head on, leaving the controversial political commentator Hunter S. Thompson and San Francisco personality Warren Hinkle, former editor of the left-wing magazine *Ramparts*, as columnists. The arts section of the paper blossomed, as did the relationship with talented fellow Harvard graduates. According to Hearst, his target readers are professional families interested in politics and means—with no time to look at a morning paper.

But like most afternoon dailies throughout North America, the Examiner is struggling. Since it moved to the afternoon market under its 1982 operating



Hearst Hunter S. Thompson and a Pulitzer Prize

agreement with the independently owned Chronicle, the Examiner has received a guaranteed share of advertising revenues from clients, who buy space in both papers as a package. The money has kept the Examiner solvent, recently, Hearst has been able to open new

business in Tokyo, Seoul and Beijing. And although Hearst Corp. still is a private company, notably grants its accounts, Hearst told *Madden* that the newspaper "is profitable." But the Examiner lost more than 100,000 in circulation because of the deal—and is lagging well behind the Chronicle's 600,000.

Some media observers doubt that Hearst will be able to overcome the Chronicle's entrenched lead. "I am afraid the situation is fairly hopeless," said David Littlejohn, associate dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley. Considered a philosophical Hearst: "You have to take the cards that are dealt to you." But he declined to comment on speculation that he may leave the agreement and compete with the Chronicle in the morning market.

Still, the battle for readers goes on, and the legend of William Randolph Hearst is one of the weapons. In a television commercial promoting the paper, Will Hearst confronts the ghost of his famous grandfather. The ghost scoffs at innovations like the Thompson column and leaves a question at his grandson. "Are you sure you know what you're doing, Will?" "I don't know," Hearst replies with an enigmatic smile. "Did you?"

—ANNE GRIGGON in San Francisco

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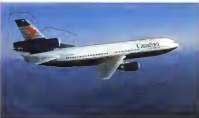
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Euophobia in Downing Street

By Barbara Amiel

The weather continues to be the topic of British small talk, and last week in London, as sun-drenched as the usual display of white clothes in Hyde Park, a newspaper vendor explained to me that it was all the result of "these European shifts." I knew what he was talking about, of course, and we exchanged happy conversational glances. The warm weather is pleasant but unexpected—and whatever is strange must be foreign. The British may have come to terms with Arabs who have purchased the best of everything, including their department stores (Harrods) and their hotels (The Dorchester), but they will never feel comfortable with Europe. There is a deep-seated uneasiness with the Channel that will link mainland Europe to Britain, and one senses a nightmare haunting bed-time in little Felicity's dreams of Ninety being trampled by legions of motorised hordes from the Continent.

Bringing at a beach-house last week, a junior minister of the British government, issued, off the record, about the current dispute between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson. The argument had come to a head that day, and questions arose in Parliament was looming. The rise in sterling was at issue, the chancellor wanted to cut interest rates to halt the pound, while Thatcher wanted to let the market set its value. I found my mind wandering as he discussed the four points of fiscal policy. Then one remark caught my attention: "What this dispute is really about," he said, "is Europe."

In a year's time the distinctive but harder British passport will no longer be needed as it is replaced by the common-colored passport known as the Economic Community passport. Nineteen-eleven is but approaching, the year that Europe will really become an economic unit, and the labels on products from villages to factories will simply say "from the EC." This means a matter of extreme concern to producers of specialised items such as Scottish cashmere or English hamper seek ways to specify their country of origin.

Thatcher has been getting off Britain's participation in the European Monetary System with vague notes, implying that the time is not right. Membership in the system would stabilize the pound, since the finance ministers of the EC regularly support one

another's currency while pegging it to the German mark. But Thatcher's resistance to full economic union with the possibility of a single currency is deep. And her convictions cannot be dismissed as shallow chauvinism. They reflect a profoundly felt cultural and spiritual divide, a sense of standing apart that has distinguished modern Britain's posture from the early days of the Second World War.

In some sense, the division is ideological. Political currents in Europe, as in much of the rest of the world, are moving toward the left. In France, the Socialists are on the move. When President François Mitterrand destroyed the right in France, he also divided it, giving National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen the chance to drive a wedge between Jacques Chirac, the official heir to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, and Raymond Barre, the independent right-wing conservative.

It is a British nightmare: little Felicity dreaming of Nanny trampled by legions of motor homes from the Continent

In Germany, the centre-right coalition of Chancellor Helmut Kohl is under attack from the Social Democrats, who are sporting such chauvinistic stars as Heinrich Heide's SS. In Britain, the vigils of the European Community are the only time when the vigilance of West Germany has been relaxed by the psychological impact of Soviet glamour, and the two leaders of the political scene are arranged in some very discarding ways.

There is much talk about the Gorbachev law for West Germany, a law of relaxed tension and lowered spending on armaments. German businessmen make constant reference to fears about President Ronald Reagan's successor and America's growing isolationism—and worry that West Germany, and Europe, must now go it alone. It is not such an unthinkable leap from this to speculate about Gorbachev's career of German reunification in return for a West German withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Matters are considerably more complex since the Berlin crowds cheered John Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner."

And what is the reality of glamour?

As I read my daily transcripts of Soviet press and broadcast news, one passage strikes me. It is the May 13 Pravda report of a meeting between Gorbachev and senior Soviet members of the press. According to the transcripts, the editor-in-chief of Komsomolskaya Pravda praised the meeting fulsomely and then, in a revealing statement, said, "I dream that some day our Central Television will record such a meeting, perhaps show a live report." A chink returns between Soviet "openness" and even the most authoritarian country in the West.

There are those who dream of a united Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural. In this vision, the EC emerges as a power centre, while American interests in Argentina and the Soviet Union—fraught with economic woes and beset by Glines—retreat. This is highly speculative, although the decline of American power and the rise of the Pacific Rim powers has been written about by such disparate thinkers as Arnold Toynbee, Kenneth B. James Goldsworthy and writer Gore Vidal. It is this vision that impels many of the people advocating Britain's full membership of Europe.

And yet Margaret Thatcher is reluctant to join as the European headwoman. It is not simply doubts about a weakening America or a reluctance to consider the possibility of Soviet initiatives to West Germany that hold her back. The European temperament is profoundly alien to the British. While it is impossible of course to reduce the complexity of Europe to a single statement, there is a sense that British plights is preferable to the swings and roundabouts of European politics, with their coalition governments and political extremism.

As 1991 looms, the questions such as a common European immigration policy or agreement on value-added taxes must be faced. Solutions to such policy matters, however, are predicated on faith and understanding between countries—and so far there is scant evidence that Britain has an abundance of either.

This week Thatcher is getting ready for her trip to the summit in Toronto, where she will sit down once more with the Europeans and other leaders to struggle through economic issues. But behind the agenda of tariffs and taxes lies a vibrant, a united Europe demanding some degree of surrender from a reluctant Britannia.



Rebirth of the navy

Sixteen years had passed since the last launching of a new Canadian warship. And last week there was a final one-hour delay in the christening of the new \$50-million, 4,700-ton patrol frigate *Stennis* Halifax. The government aircraft carrying Mike Mulroney, wife of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, from Ottawa for the Saint John, N.B., ceremony had arrived late. But at 12:40 p.m. on May 19, she slipped a ribbon that sent a bottle of champagne crashing into the bow of the Halifax. As silver foam spread across the ship's gunnery hall, the ship's whistle sounded and a crowd of 2,500 hydroblasted shipyard workers, civilian guests and sailors cheered. The naval officers present, resplendent in their white uniforms, had most reason to be happy. Frustrated by the struggle to maintain the armed ships in Canada's 25-natal fleet, the officers and men could take heart from an event that was intended to signal the rebirth of the Canadian navy.

Indeed, the launching of *Stennis* Halifax—the first of 12 new frigates on order at a total cost of \$10 billion—was tangible evidence that the Canadian military has the political support it needs to continue a shopping spree anticipated in Canadian government history. After years of criticism about neglect, Canada's sailors, soldiers and airmen have reason to believe that they will soon acquire some of the best war machinery that money can buy. The opposition Liberals and New Democrats reject some aspects of the Conservative government's defence policy, notably the Conservatives' plan to spend \$8 billion on a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines. But all three parties are committed to a massive increase in defence spending.

One reason for the political uncertainty appears to be that almost two-thirds of Canadians believe that the Armed Forces need new weapons. As a result, said Liberal defence critic Douglas Frith, politicians of all stripes have concluded that, in the 1980s, "good defense is good politics."

Still, if the Tories have their way, Canadians will hear less in the next year about the similarities in defence policies than the differences Conservative strategists say that they are



HMCS Halifax shopping for some of the dead war machinery that money can buy

looking forward to seeing Tory candidates debate military affairs with their opponents during the next election campaign. Said one Conservative tactician: "Our polling shows that the public supports defence expenditures and that they realize that, for the first

time in a long time, the Canadian Forces is not a hedgehog of outdated equipment and uncertain direction. We intend to remind them of that."

That campaign has already begun. In a flurry of election-style swings across the country, Brian Mulroney

has boasted of his government's plan to bolster the Armed Forces. Mulroney has attacked previous Liberal governments for allowing the military to decline and refused New Democrats for their pledge to pull Canada out of NATO and Nord, the military alliance with Europe and the United States that has been the main pillar of Canada's military policy since the Korean War.

In fact, the revival of the military began under the previous Liberal government. In the first half of his tenure, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau showed little support for increasing spending on the Armed Forces. But in 1980 and 1983 Trudeau authorized the military to proceed with the two largest defence purchases in Canadian history: a \$3-billion contract for 137 CF-18 jet fighters and a \$4-billion purchase of six naval frigates in a series later extended by the Mulroney government to 12. For his part, Frith complained that the Conservatives have successfully managed to mask the frigates' Liberal origins. Said Frith: "The myth that they have created—that Liberals are weak on defence, and Conservatives strong—is now staying power."

Still, Mulroney can point to the battleships at Halifax and Esquimaux, B.C.—the bones for the navy's 20 warships—to make his point. The newest warship currently in service, the *Algonquin*, has been sold for 17 years. The oldest, the frigate *Assiniboia*, was built in 1956. That contrasts with an average age of 18 to 19 years of ships in other NATO fleets. When construction work on the Halifax is finished and the ship is commissioned for service in October, 1989—five months later, it was launched with the basic structure complete but without engines, weapons and other equipment—it will be equipped with a comprehensive array of missiles and rapid-fire anti-aircraft guns. Said Cindy Duggan, a spokeswoman for the navy: "I have vacation tapes in my cabin dated 1955 and our parts dated 1954—and we still use them."

If the Liberals are open to change that, they let the navy rest easy. But officials acknowledge privately that they are equally vulnerable on defence issues. Party leaders agonized for months about a long-standing policy to pull Canada out of NATO and Nord.

Then, this spring, they decided that if the party ever forced a government, it must not set off a policy war after the next election. It faced NDP Leader Ed Broadbent's charge a dilemma. Public opinion polls have shown that more than 80 per cent of Canadians support continued participation in the two alliances, but rank-and-file New Democrats overwhelmingly want the coun-

try to pull out. One Conservative strategist said that some of those NDP members are likely to become party candidates, and that Tory candidates will make a special effort to expose rifts between local candidates and party leaders on defence matters.

Meanwhile, Conservative candidates will be able to point to an impressive list of hardware ordered since Defence Minister Pierre Pettit tabled a white paper on defence last June. Among the items: six more frigates at a cost of \$3 billion to supplement the six ordered by the Liberals, and 1,129 heavy trucks

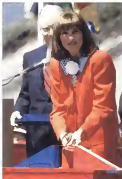
recommended at the conclusion of the economic summit meeting of Western leaders in Toronto June 13 to 15. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French President François Mitterrand both let the Tories know. Said the Conservative: "Frankly, we wouldn't let the military finish the evaluation until we have the political window to make the cabinet decision, and the collective political wisdom is to wait until after the summit rather than run the risk of disappointing one of the major participants beforehand."

In the meantime, the proposal to buy nuclear submarines remains controversial, both at home and abroad. NATO officials in Brussels noted that last year's white paper announcing the plan to buy nuclear-powered submarines also declared Ottawa's intention of withdrawing their commitment to send a Canadian ship to Norway in the event of an international crisis. Said David Fougaret, European officer of the London-based *Journal de Défense* Weekly: "Some people in NATO definitely fear that Canada might potentially be wanting a lot of money on a prestige venture, while sacrificing a vital alliance mission—the defence of Norway." But James MacCoy, a naval analyst with the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, pointed Ottawa's decision to buy the sale as "a tremendous asset to the whole NATO concept of reinforcing Europe."

A poll of 1,500 Canadians conducted this month for *Pickens Shipbuilding & Engineering*, London, found that 43 per cent support the purchase of nuclear submarines—and an equal number oppose it.

But other polls conducted for the government indicate that when the political right and left are asked whether Canada should help defend itself in the Arctic—where experts suspect that foreign submarines make regular voyages—three-quarters of the respondents said they would support the purchase. Encouraged by that support, the government's defence officials are keen ahead with the purchase of a submarine fleet, giving Canada's sailors something else to cheer about.

—MARK CLARK in Ottawa with
ANDREW FRITH in London and
MARK TUNNEY in Saint John



Mike Mulroney christening the ship: impressive hardware

to be built by the Lavalin Inc.-owned CMC of Kingston, Ont., for about \$350 million. Items not yet ordered but on the military's shopping list include an additional 12 CF-18 fighters, six more *Avrocar* amphibious patrol planes to supplement the 18 already in service, and up to 50 C-130H antiaircraft helicopters to replace shipborne *Sea King* helicopters.

By far the most expensive and controversial element of the Tory defence strategy is the plan to buy nuclear-powered submarines. The navy has only recently completed an evaluation of two competing ship designs, the British Trafalgar and France's *Améthyste*, and will likely recommend a choice to cabinet next month. But a Conservative official familiar with the project said that cabinet will not consider the military's

Contesting a claim for refugee status



Singh with lawyer Grew: a 'man of peace' whose writings justify '40 murders'

The case provided a perplexing glimpse into the Byzantine world of Canada's refugee policy. According to a report in *Toronto's Globe and Mail* last week, External Affairs Minister for Clark asked the immigration department to deny refugee status to a Sikh claimant—even though independent officials declared that Santokh Singh Bagga was a genuine refugee. In a letter to former immigration minister Ron Gwynne, Clark said that Indian officials wanted the man for his suspected involvement in a conspiracy to assassinate Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The newspaper report charged that Clark's sources apparently "have more to do with bilateral relations with India than with the merits of the refugee claim." With the support of national Sikh leaders, Singh vehemently denied all charges. His Toronto lawyer, Mendel Grew, demanded that Clark provide the evidence against his client. Said Grew: "Put up or shut up."

It will not be that easy. An examination of the facts raised disturbing questions about many of the individuals and organizations involved in the case. The claimant, who is now legally known as Santokh Singh, is a dazed, gaubled Sikh academic who told Maclean's last week "I abhor violence and I abhor terrorism. I am a man of peace and religion." But among Singh's 20 books and pamphlets, a 1984 volume,

The Only Option for Sikhs, distinguishes between the killing of innocent bystanders and what he calls the justified "40 murders" in recent years of Indians who allegedly tortured Sikhs or who mistreated the Sikh refugees. In the book, he describes the fate of a Hindu who defied a Sikh gangster. "This man deserved to be killed upon the spot. It was his luck that he served for a few weeks after such a disgraceful act." And he referred to the assassins of the late Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi as "two brave Sikhs acting as agents of the Ultimate Power, of Justice—the Truth."

The roles played by the Indian government and the external affairs department in Ottawa also proved questionable.

India's high commissioner, S. J. Singh Chhatwal, denied last week that India had charged Singh with an offense. "As of now there is no case," But senior Indian officials later told Maclean's that Indian authorities are still investigating alleged sources against Singh.

Although external affairs officials

told Maclean's that Clark intervened solely because of Canada's security concerns, after the immigration department initially rejected Singh's application for refugee status, excerpts from Clark's letters appeared to introduce political considerations, such as the risk of offending India, into the refugee process. In a June 2, 1987, letter to Bushard, for one, Clark said that it was "most disconcerting to learn that a number of Indian Sikhs were recently recognized as refugees."

The affair landed in Canada's lap in June 2, 1987, when Singh entered Britain Columbia from the United States "because I never heard of any Sikh being given refugee status in America." He promptly reported to immigration authorities, confessing that he had used false identification to cross the border. Then he claimed refugee status.

From the start, Singh's case stood out among the 770 Sikhs who claimed refugee status within the past two years. With his dominance in philosophy from India's University of Poona and his profile outside of political circles, Singh was a formidable opponent of the Gandhi government, which has faced charges of human rights abuses during its bloody six-year struggle with Sikh nationalists. In immigration news, Singh charged that India was accused of "Sikhicide" and he called for the creation of an independent Sikh state, Khalistan. But although he lauded the "40 murders," he stopped short of advocating specific acts of violence.

Only four Sikhs have received refugee status since 1980 Singh's claim followed the normal, painfully complicated route. He was quickly snipped into the so-called Mandelby Unfounded Claims process, a fast-track process, where immigration officials believe that the claim is probably not justified. In March 1987, officials concluded that Singh's claim was unfounded. Next, a departmental official took

another look at the claim and decided that it was not manifestly unfounded. Then, Joe Stinson, chairman of the Immigration and Refugee Board, an independent body that reviews refugee claims, sent the case to a three-member

advisory board. That body met five times in June, 1987, that Singh was a refugee. But then that decision went back to three departmental officials who decided in December, 1987—six months after Clark's second letter to Bushard—that the claim was unfounded. As International Trade Minister John Crosbie told the Commons last week: "It is quite obvious that people acting in good faith, looking at the same information, can come to different conclusions."

But if the refugee determination process was ordinary, Clark's intervention was extraordinary. Senior officials emphasize that every minister has the duty to inform colleagues about security concerns. But in his June 2, 1987, letter, Clark also registered his concerns that the advisory committee had started "to recommend in favor of Sikh refugee claimants." Although the newspaper did not release the full text of Clark's letters, his remarks appeared to indicate that he objected to the recognition of any Sikh applicants. But Canadian law stipulates that each case must be judged on individual, humanitarian grounds. At a news conference last week, Clark insisted that he acted in the Singh case solely for security reasons, not to appease India. "If someone is a refugee under our law, that person has a right to stay in our country whatever it said by the governments of the country from which that person comes."

But the damage to Clark's reputation in the Sikh community was done. In Toronto last week, national Sikh leaders called for Clark's resignation. Said Kuldeep Singh Chhatwal, a spokesman for the Ontario Sikh Association: "When injustice is done only because I look a little different, that really burns any sensible person."

Meanwhile, Singh, 52, returned to his farm near Parn, Ont., and to his work as a priest and co-ordinator of a Sikh Resource Centre. He told Maclean's "I'll see in Indian books, they will cut me into pieces and torture and throw away my body. But there is justice in this country." His lawyer has applied for a hearing before the Immigration Appeal Board. But last March, in an unrelated case, the Federal Court of Canada ruled that the board cannot hear refugee claims because its members appointed members might appear biased against the claimants since they must depend upon the goodwill of the government for reappointment to their jobs. Although that decision is now under appeal, a hearing of cases has been delayed, and it is likely to set aside for two to three years.

—MARY LANGMAN with
HELENE KACZMAREK in Ottawa

The long wait for rain

Prairie grain farmers searched the skies for rain clouds last week as they seeded crops into powdery soil that was precariously dry. In southern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan, the continued lack of rain after a mild and nearly snowless winter across much of Western Canada caused mounting concern. As the new planting season began, many farm communities across the West were already under financial pressure from high farm debts. Although grain prices

that heavy rain in the next few weeks could lighten crop prospects. "We are concerned because the potential yield this season is down," said John Morris, a spokesman for the Winnipeg-based Canadian Wheat Board. "If it rains, there are still prospects for a reasonable crop." But, added William Kahlke, a Winnipeg specialist with the provincial environment department, "If we don't get rain in late May or June, we may not have a crop."



Andrei Bakh, farmer, but Sulzberger purchased pasture

were slowly recovering after eight years at low levels, the lack of rain threatened new economic misfortune. "If there is no rain, the government will be paying that money per quality," said Gordon Nolan, the Alberta Wheat Pool's elevator operator at tiny Champion (population 380, 180 km southwest of Calgary). "Those who seeded into low-moisture ground are hoping to hell it rains now."

The spectre of drought was even more immediate for ranchers faced with dry reservoirs and already parched pastures. But agricultural experts said that there was still hope

weather change that could turn parts of the Prairies into desert. "I hate to say there are climatic changes taking place," said Kenneth Jones, an Environment Canada meteorologist in Regina, "but you can't rule that out." Others were more optimistic. Noted the Wheat Board's Morris: "Despite dry conditions, new soil management techniques, machinery and chemical have helped in raising grain crops over the past decade." He still held out hope for a good crop this year—providing the rains come soon.

—JOHN BROWN in Calgary

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Quebec maternity ward: cash for kids to counteract Canada's lowest birthrate

Revenge of the cradle

In the 1980s, when Quebec's birthrate was the highest in Canada, the province's ability to produce babies was widely known as the "revenge of the cradle." The phrase was a reference to the traditional Québécois belief that an expanding population would always ensure Quebec a leading place in Confederation. But now Quebec's birthrate is the lowest in Canada and one of the lowest in the industrialized world. As a result, Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal government has adapted a program that will offer Quebec families cash for having babies. The plan, unveiled in the government's May 19 budget, raised some concerns that the measures could persuade low-income families to have children that they cannot afford. But many Quebecers welcomed the plan. Last week Nicole Brodeur, president of the national Solid Jeun-Québécois Society of Montreal, said, "It is a grave problem for Quebec. If the population falls, then we will have a harder time maintaining our identity and our culture."

Indeed, the problem strikes at the heart of Quebec's future as a distinct

society in North America, a status that will be recognized formally if the controversial Meech Lake constitutional accord is approved. The numbers clearly are a cause for concern in the province: Quebec's fertility rate—the technical term used for the rate of childbirth among women of childbearing age—last year stood at only 1.4 per woman, below the 1.7 average for Canada and the 1.1 needed to maintain a stable population. With 6.6 million people, Quebec still has more than a quarter of Canada's total population—a proportion only slightly lower than it had in the 1950s. But that ratio has been maintained only with the help of immigration.

With those facts in mind, the budget presented by Finance Minister Gérard D. Lévesque proposed to give parents \$200 for each of a mother's first two children, and \$1,000 for each additional child after that. The \$1,000 will be paid in quarterly installments until the child reaches the age of 2. Lévesque also announced that the province will forgo \$100 million in annual taxes over a year by making family-allocation payments tax-free and

income available to families with two or more children under 18 to help them buy a first house. As well, the province has promised to provide 60,000 new day care spaces over the next seven years, subject to agreement with Ottawa on a national day care program. Said Lévesque: "Our government has an abiding concern for the financial welfare of Quebec families who care for children."

Quebec's current dearth of babies contrasts sharply with the situation that existed a generation ago. During the 1950s, when the province was largely rural and Roman Catholic, Quebec's fertility rate—which stood at 2.9 in 1960—was among the highest in the Western world. Then the province's Quiet Revolution of the 1960s launched a transformation of social and educational structures. The church's once all-pervasive influence waned, contraception became widely used, more women joined the workforce—and drastically fewer babies were born. Said Montreal's McGill University sociologist Martin Weisfeld: "Quebec has had a major cultural revolution in the past 30 or 40 years, and a lot of factors have combined to create the current situation."

Meanwhile, some critics worried that the plan would encourage larger families among low-income Quebecers, who may not be able to provide financial security for new babies. But most social scientists said that the budget measures could have a valuable psychological effect. Jacques Héroguez, a demographer at the University of Montreal, said, "In themselves, measures like that may not change much, but they tell people that having children is valued and supported by society." Added Weisfeld: "The important thing is the symbolic aspect. One of the ways we compensate what is valuable in our society is with dollar signs."

Nationalist groups argued that Quebec's long struggle for survival in a sea of English-speaking North Americans will be damaged by the declining birthrate. And Bourassa himself told his Liberal party's policy committee in February that the low birthrate "is the No. 1 national question of the time, much more than the creation of an independent republic of Quebec." But, said nationalist Soulestin, "It will take more than paying people to have babies to solve it." She said that Quebecers need more day care facilities and more flexible hours for working parents. Quebec government officials acknowledge that they have taken only a few first steps toward a solution. They are gambling that the budgetary allowances will bear fruit within three to five years.

—MICHAEL ROSE in Montreal

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Built for the Human Race

Mulroney on the road

With their carefully scripted agendas, the annual summits of leaders from the world's seven leading industrial democracies have sought to put a veneer of managerial competence on the turbulent global economy. But critics complain that since the summits began 15 years ago, they have increasingly sacrificed substance for style. Now, as the Western leaders prepare for next month's summit meeting in Toronto, Canadian officials are trying to ensure that the June 29 to 31 sessions will be more productive. When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the conference host, visits summit participants in Europe this week that goal is one of the issues that he is expected to raise. His last day of talks begins with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London and concludes with Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita in Rome on Friday. The outcomes of the Toronto summit, said an official of the external affairs department before Mulroney's departure, "in that it should be a businesslike summit oriented to economic issues."

Officials in Mulroney's office said that his talks with European leaders would be low-key affairs, intended, as tradition dictates, for Mulroney to hear what issues each of them planned to bring to the summit's agenda. But in Paris, where Mulroney was to meet with French President François Mitterrand, he was also expected to discuss the dispute over Atlantic fishing boundaries with Prime Minister Michel Rocard after visiting West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn. Mulroney also planned to meet with European Community president Jacques Delors. His next visit President Ronald Reagan last April in Washington and Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita last January in Toronto.

One of Canada's summit aims is to get the annual meetings back on an even track and away from political issues such as international terrorism, which have dominated recent summits. Mulroney was also expected to try to

convince his summit colleagues of the merits of a Canadian initiative to change the format of the meetings. Past summits, particularly last year's tightly scheduled gathering in Venice, have been criticized for abandoning the spirit of informality that is widely associated with the earliest summits. Said University of Toronto political scientist John Kirtan, director of the



Thatcher and Mulroney in 1985 discussing a disputed agenda

municipal program on the 1985 Toronto summit. "The early summits were more structured than people care to remember. But everybody now realizes that if the Venice experience was repeated, the summit concept would die."

As a result, Canadian conference organizers have added an extra half-day of informal economic discussions before the summit's traditional first event, the opening dinner. As well, the seven summit participants will hold another open discussion on long-term economic objectives on the second day. Canadian officials are trying to change

the recent practice in which the final summit communiqué—a bland statement of generalities—was roughed out even before the summit began. Instead, they are proposing that it should be written after the summit discussions have finished—and reflect some of the content of those discussions.

Still, many economists said that the recent economic forecasts for the Western nations would dampen any enthusiasm for bold initiatives on such issues as Third World debt, the U.S. trade deficit, and long-standing North American grievances over European agricultural subsidies. In Paris last week the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development predicted that the economies of the industrial world will grow by three per cent this year. "Since too much criticism and finger-pointing scares the international financial markets, the leaders are likely to keep their statements low-key," said Cynthia Latta, a senior financial economist at the respected Lexington, Mass.-based Data Resources. "I expect they will crew about their economies and just eat, drink and be merry."

But Mulroney's bid to keep the conference focused on economics will likely be put temporarily aside if Reagan decides to give the other participants a first-hand briefing on the results of his May 29 to June 2 meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time, observers predicted that, with less than eight months left in his presidency, few initiatives could be expected from Reagan at the summit. Nor was Japan's recently elected Takishima expected to take a forceful role at the summit. Said Michael Donnelly, director of Toronto's Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies. "Like the others, Takishima will likely shade by the unwritten summit rule to make the host leader look good." For Mulroney, who has carefully tried to cultivate an image as an international statesman, that approach could provide a rejuvenating political boost in a possible election year. But it also suggested that the Toronto summit is unlikely to be very different from its forerunners, but for the most part unproductive, predecessors.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

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Measuring car savvy in litres

By Charles Gordon

Everybody needs cars. Without a car on a spring day, it is impossible to enjoy the latest high-tech thing to do—which is to drive in a house for miles, stop outside, turn the car radio to the FM frequency advertised on the "Pay safe" sign and listen to a description of the house.

More than ever, people need cars. Think of house-shopping as foot, carrying a portable radio. Extra, for entering someone you know—a clergyman, for example—and trying to explain what you are doing, seeming to enter outside someone's house.

"We're just listening to this house here, on the radio," you would say, and wonder if the visitor is sane.

Cars and houses are inter-related. In the spring the people with money who buy houses buy cars. They now pay for cars what they used to pay for houses. The cars have better sound systems than the houses used to. The cars have better air conditioning, and the seats are adjustable in seven ways that the seats in the old houses were not.

Perhaps because cars cost what houses used to, people are more careful about buying them and don't have far fewer of them. People have a sense of social responsibility in buying a car. They know about politics and gas mileage. They have read the magazines and know to what degree the bumper-rear cover is a coffin.

Given the wealth of information at hand, you would think the choosing would be easy. It is not. Times have changed. Once, everybody knew that the biggest car was the best one. If a person drove a small car, it was only because he could not afford a big one yet. Obviously, if he drove a car that lacked automatic transmission, air conditioning, power windows and power doors, it was only because he was too poor.

Now that is certain these days. The potential buyer—let's call him the pre-man—has had more than a decade of concern about pollution, energy crises and other problems connected with the modern automobile. If he has come to terms with his feelings on such matters, he has also had to deal with the confusion North American workmanship versus Japanese, free trade versus protectionism, plus the age-old problem of rust.

Even if the pre-man has resolved his thinking on these issues, his problems are

not over, for he still has the status problem of the next generation of children to think about.

Today's children are different when it comes to cars. When the pre-man was a child, he believed, as did his parents before him, that bigger was better and foreign cars looked silly. He also believed, as he was raised to believe, that the more options, the better. Now, somehow, he has raised his own children to want some frills, foreign cars with five forward gears. It does not matter that these children are not old enough to drive. Apparently, conventional wisdom at the school has decreed that kids whose parents drive automobiles, there is no reason to keep them out of it. And because children are essentially honest, the suggestion that they could simply not discuss the matter at school falls on deaf ears.

Remembered with consumer interest—

A man used to be able to choose a Mustang or a Cougar, the wild beast of his dreams. Now we have Integras and Sentras

tion, mindful of the environment and other ideological considerations, and the thought of cars being more expensive than houses constantly at the back of the mind, the pre-man has a difficult enough time making a decision. Added to it are skills in terminology that rob him of his traditional framework of reference. However, for example, Automobile magazine does come in horsepower any more. They come in litres. It is not the fact of metric that bothers the pre-man. It is the fact that he knows he will not be able to talk about it at parties.

"He's got 300 horses under the hood," he used to be able to say about his old Chrysler, and everybody knew what he meant. Not that they could really comprehend what having 300 horses entailed, in a detailed way. But they knew that having 300 horses was better than having 200. And they knew that word of those little foreign jets only had 75 or 80.

Now engines come in litres and, perhaps coincidentally, perhaps not, men don't call them "he" anymore. No man here has been heard to say "She's got 28 litres under the hood," although

they may talk that way in Europe.

Something similar has happened with miles-per-gallon, another staple of automotive conversation. A few years ago somebody—a liberal, it is suspected—did away with miles-per-gallon and substituted litres-per-100-km. As if by magic, men stopped talking about fuel economy. And women, often smarter than men about such things, being able to keep track of gas kilometrage and knowing how many times a hood should have a circle it, were also smart enough to keep quiet about it.

If confusion reigns with regard to horsepower and litres-per-thousand-grains, the image situation is just so murky. The cars have begun making it more difficult to figure out what they are supposed to represent. Fading all else, a man could once choose his car in the image of the wild beast of his dreams. Now, while Cougars and Colts and Mustangs and Collies remain, they are joined by Camels, Sentras and Integras, representing a generation of two-marketed syllables.

In the end, the pre-man's head spins. The manufacturers in their wisdom know it, and they know what a desperate man will find reassuring: the display of lights on the dashboard. In the dark and with the lights on, the mirror of a new car bears an uncanny resemblance to the cockpit of an airplane. There are lights all over the place, indicating all manner of things. On most cars, there will be at least 16 different lights on the dashboard, each alone, none of the dash has a graphic equivalent, available on some 28-drive models.

On many cars, there are lights that serve only to indicate other lights. Other lights go on to indicate when the lights that indicate other lights are not working are not working. Any dashboard worth the price of a house has lights in at least three colors. The net effect is both stunning and soothing. The buyer sees himself soaring through the night air, above the traffic, free of all care in some really fancy European job, buttons and knobs have been placed above the windshield to heighten the airplane effect.

When car dealers realize what is happening in the heads of their potential customers, they will arrange for all test drives to be conducted only at night, knowing that no man will ever worry about litres-per-100-km when he's cranking at 35,000 feet.

Charles Gordon is columnist for The Ottawa Citizen.



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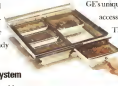
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STYLE, SUBSTANCE AT THE SUMMIT

—ESSAY—

By John Bierman

On a leader on the brink of retirement, still immensely popular despite his disengaged style and the scandals haunting his administration. The other is a vigorous middle age—with perhaps 35 years of public life ahead of him—and possibly more widely admired abroad than at home. The first, President Ronald Reagan, is concerned with history's verdict on his presidency. The second, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, faces a more immediate judgment—the vote of a special congress of the Soviet Communist party on the reforms, which he admits have plunged his country into "turmoil." For the hopes of both men, the May 29 to June 2 Moscow summit may be critical.

But the summit will be one of style rather than substance. With no major East-West agreements to conclude (page 28), image will be the essence Reagan, making the first U.S. presidential visit to Moscow in 14 years, is not expected to stage an unscripted walkabout, as Gorbachev did during the last summit in Washington in December. But he is likely to talk to nonofficial Soviet citizens in informal settings. And White House communications director Tom Brinkman "We are going to put the President in their environment, where they work and where they live."

Congress (page 17) will be even more important for Gorbachev. Four weeks after he talks with Reagan he will call the first special party congress in 47 years as he seeks grassroots endorsement of his controversial glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) policies. The Soviet public's perception of his summit performance could help lure forward among the conservatives and party bureaucrats who oppose his reforms.

When Gorbachev became general secretary of the Soviet Communist party 39 months ago his reformist utterances were greeted with skepticism, both at home and abroad. By contrast, when Reagan entered the White House in January, 1981, there was little doubt of his sentiments when he dubbed the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and embarked on the biggest defense buildup in U.S. peacetime history.

Given the strict anticomunism of his early days in office, Reagan's forthright summit meeting with Gorbachev—marking a progressively and dramatically improving climate of East-West

relations—testifies to his unexpected ideological flexibility. It also reflects Gorbachev's fierce commitment to domestic reforms: the East-West ties could not have happened but for the Soviet leader's apparent determination to divert resources from defense to improving the economy.

Flexibility: Recent speeches demonstrate both Reagan's flexibility and Gorbachev's determination. In Chicago on

May 4 Reagan praised recent improvements in Soviet human rights. He also acknowledged American shortcomings in caring for the homeless and race relations. In the past such statements would have drawn a sharp protest from right-wing Republicans. But in recent months the hard right has been growing increasingly disillusioned. Sen. Howard Phillips, chairman of the Virginia-based Conservative Caucus Inc., last week "It's futile to protest. Reagan is the epitome of the same sort of people who plotted the disastrous policies of the Nixon administration."

Gorbachev's problems with Soviet conservatives were highlighted in a May 7 speech to Soviet newspaper and magazine editors, when he openly criticized the hard-liners and entrenched party bureaucrats who oppose him. Conceding that glasnost and



Gorbachev (left); Moscow's Red Square; Reagan after summit, but a challenge from within

perestroika had created "turmoil" and "pain" among the Old Guard, Gorbachev pledged not to deviate from "our chosen path, our chosen goals, our chosen methods." And he said (and he will reiterate the party itself, with the obvious aim of smashing the power of the traditional establishment. More immediately, he called on Communist party branches to choose the 4,000 delegates to the June 28 special congress from among his supporters.

Risks: In convening the congress, Gorbachev is taking a calculated risk. And last week—confronted by evidence that delegates selected so far was failing to produce a reform-minded majority—many of his supporters were urging him to postpone it. But Prof. Timothy Colton, director of the University of Toronto's Centre for Russian and East European Studies, "One problem is that there have been few tangible benefits for the ordinary people. Professors and intellectuals have not prospered, but blue-collar workers have not gained much from perestroika." And for most Soviet people, even fresh food and basic consumer goods remain scarce (page 28).

In foreign affairs, the reality of Gorbachev's new approach is dramatically demonstrated by the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. He now seems likely to try to disengage the Soviet Union from other regional hot spots, including southern Africa, and to play a more constructive role in explosive areas such as the Middle East (page 28). But a senior official of the Soviet foreign ministry, Gorbachev needs a stable and predictable foreign environment and the co-operation of the advanced economies of the West. The Soviets see only so that if these countries do not respond, the Soviet economy will collapse.

Shapleak: Still, many Western conservatives and military experts are rightly remain skeptical. On a visit to Ottawa last week North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Supreme Commander Gen. John Galvin told Moscow "It is even so the idea that Soviet intentions have changed, we will increase our risk tremendously. I am worried that within NATO there is a sentiment of 'wait and see'." However, a survey of 963 Americans, published last week by the Public Agenda Institute, a concordance New York City research group, found

that "Americans do not see the Soviets as a direct nuclear threat to the United States." It is also "Only 16 per cent of those polled thought that the Soviets would start a serious war and that, said a foundation spokesman, represented "a fundamental shift" in public opinion.

Relevance:—despite such retrogression in public opinion, the continuing detention of dissident editor Sergei Grigoriev—glasnost continues at a dizzying pace, especially in cultural affairs. In the past two weeks alone:

- Key extracts from 1964 George Orwell's classic novel *1984* were distributed, banned in the Soviet Union since it was published 30 years ago, appeared in the weekly *Litserazhnyy Glos*.

- The avant-garde theatrical director Turgun Yakubov, 70, who was stripped of his citizenship when he emigrated six four years ago, was allowed to return to stage a once-banned play in Moscow. *Observers say that this may open the door to other artistic and such, such as ballet.* Melnikova Rostropovich and dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov.

- Official prizes have been given for the country house of poet and novelist Boris Pasternak—best-known in the West for his 1958 novel, *Doctor Zhivago*—to be turned into a museum.

Pasternak was pressured to decline his 1958 Nobel Literature Prize and died in 1960. *Dr. Zhivago* was banned until its serialization in the journal *Novy Mir* earlier this year.

- Soviet television last week carried its first commercial, a Pepsi-Cola ad while subeditorials featured "Soviet Internationalism"—the Soviet Union's first credit card—and the Sony Corp.'s color TV sets.

But those developments did not necessarily impress ordinary Soviet citizens, who tend to be skeptical of conservatives. Nor did they relieve the major irritants affecting them—notably the shortages of food, adequate housing and consumer goods. As a senior external affairs officer put it, "Gorbachev is saying to his people, 'There are no alternatives now, and we all work together there will be plenty of carrots later.'" Gorbachev may need to perform brilliantly at the summit to push the hard-liners and bureaucrats of the elite to still his reforms by playing on the Soviet public's desire for a little more of the good life now.



Gorbachev



Reagan

As he squatted against the reading Moscow sun, breaking through his windows last week, Borisov Kopelashvili had the conviction of a man who is realizing one of his fondest dreams. Last month Kopelashvili, 46, who spent 18 years working for government-owned restaurants, became chief director of the Uptown-Boston, one of Moscow's handful of new co-operative dining spots. Now, he is responsible for most day-to-day decisions at the restaurant and he shares in the profits with the government. At the Uptown, which overlooks Moscow's historic Novodevichy Monastery, Kopelashvili introduces from his native Georgia a cuisine in elegant backdrop of original paintings on the walls and live music by two classically trained violonists. A long-time member of the Communist party, the restaurant operative said that the experience had taught him that "when you own a part of something, you work much harder and care more." He added, "This is something I once thought impossible."

During a late-blooming springtime, with the first tulips and true buds out now appearing, Moscow is brimming with freedom's new considered impossible. Along with the co-operative restaurants and stores that now dot the city, Moscowites are enjoying new manifestations of the openness, or *glasnost*, that Communist party Secretary-General Mikhail Gorbachev has developed since he took power in 1985. One of the most popular theatre hits of the season, *Dear Friends* by Sergo, includes teddy and frank sexual dialogue. On the Arbat, the city's trend-setting central shopping and pedestrian mall, artists now sell wildly colored pop art and pictures of nude, along with their traditional landscapes. Freedom is still a strictly prescribed commodity, but that it is breaking out all in it is itself remarkable.

Camps: In a poster shop, a government-sponsored cartoon shows a bureaucrat trying unsuccessfully to hide under an old instruction manual, while the caption—referring to Gorbachev's campaign for economic restructuring—reads: "Familiarity you cannot hide from the new." And recently a Soviet newspaper published a graphic account of life in a Siberian labor camp, marking the first time that the media has ever acknowledged the existence of the camps.

Newspapers now frequently publish letters criticizing aspects of government policy. And some senior Soviet officials, including Minister of Health Tengis Ivanagishvili, have appeared on late-night radio talk shows to respond to calls from listeners. At



Great poster of Lenin near the Kremlin walls; poster for 1000 markets (below left); tourists (below right) now freedom

SPRINGTIME IN MOSCOW

the same time, as the Soviet Union celebrates the 1,000th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox Church, many old churches are being restored by the

government, while religious observance, traditionally discouraged by the state, is becoming more open. Basil Tatars, a 31-year-old practicing Russian Catholic and former government employee who would not give his last name "I used to hide my religion from everyone. Now, I feel I can gradually let more people know how I feel." Declared a Moscow-based Western diplomat "There are still limits on what can be said and done, but we are learning to know what those limits are."

Freedom: Still, there are frequent and sometimes harsh reminders that Soviet citizens remain far removed from either affluence or political freedom. The average Moscowite earns about 200 rubles a month (about \$400) but must pay prices far above North American averages for fruit and vegetables—and these

are often of poor quality. A pound of new potatoes sold last week at local markets for about 85, and tomatoes were selling for between 87 and 110 a pound. Shoppers lined up for more than an hour to buy peaches selling for \$8 a pound.

Food: Gorbachev acknowledged in a speech earlier this month that food production remained a "major concern," and he added that the country was short of "meat, fruit and vegetables." He said, "We have to look for radical measures to resolve that problem faster."

Some Moscowites say that they are amazed that Gorbachev's reforms will ever lead to economic improvement. "Under Stalin, prices were much lower, and you could buy meat at the market," said Vladimir Kuznetsov, a taxi driver in his early 50s. He added that perestroika "has not made anything better for the people, there is nothing in the shops."

As well, despite Gorbachev's frequent calls for decentralization (involving individuals more in government decisions), the state still does not tolerate formal opposition. Earlier this month a group of about 100 people gathered in Moscow with the intent of forming the Soviet Union's first-ever

Western-style opposition party, the Democratic Union. The party's manifesto included the goals of establishing a multiparty political system, a market economy, independent trade unions, the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Eastern Europe and a Western-style democracy. The manifesto also declared "freedom is the right to be afraid. We have been fully deprived of that right since October, 1917."

KGB: Set on the day their three-day conference was about to begin at the Moscow home of one member, the group was greeted by more than three hundred and 30 cars full of agents from the state security agency, the KGB. Although they were allowed to hold the first two days of meetings at the apartment of a member, more than 20 people were eventually arrested. Out-of-town members were put on trains to their homes the next morning. Later, authorities arrested Sergei Gropitsky, editor of the satirical dissident magazine *Glasnost*, who was sentenced to seven days in jail on charges of "malicious disinformation." After being released last week Gropitsky said that the authorities had confiscated his printing equipment and seized his files and manuscripts. And he accused the KGB of "intentionally creating an unstable situation." Said Gropitsky, who added that he hoped to continue publishing: "Who knows where it all will end."

That issue has perplexed most Soviets since Gorbachev took power. On the one hand, dissidents, such as supporters of the Democratic Union, say

that the government has not moved far enough in expanding individual rights and curbing government power.

But traditional Communists—who many Soviets say are led by Mayor Yegor Gaidar, the No Smoking Kremlin official—oppose the scope and speed of the reforms. The conservative assert that ordinary Soviets are becoming nervous and confused by the rapid changes.

For his part, Gorbachev has acknowledged the controversy over the changes he has introduced. "We found real confusion in the minds of many people—workers, intellectuals and administrators alike," he declared in a May 7 speech to Soviet newspaper editors. He added: "Some people have indeed lost their bearings amid all the current processes. Some people have been taken aback and panicked."

People: In fact, many of the changes have been small. Earlier this year Gorbachev announced that government stores which had been supplied to about 4,000 middle- and high-level functionaries across the Soviet Union would be taken away. His anti-alcoholism campaign, which has coupled new curbs on vodka production with stiff price increases, has proven so unpopular that government officials are now considering a slight increase in production. More seriously, because of the massive changes that Gorbachev has said are necessary to revitalize the Soviet economy, government economists now estimate that 16 million people across the country will have to be relocated or retrained by the end of the century.

Still, Gorbachev seems determined to press ahead with his program for change, and nowhere is that more evident than in Moscow. Adding a distinctly Western touch, McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd. signed an agreement last month with the City of Moscow that will allow the company to build as many as 100 outlets in the city beginning next year (page 40). Astro Pizza Ltd. of New Jersey is already operating a truck that travels across the city, selling North American-style pizza to long lines of waiting Moscowites. A Japanese sporting goods company is financing the first-ever baseball diamond in a Moscow park, and the city is



considering a request from an American businessman to build a golf course in a Moscow suburb.

The changes also extend to personal style. At an open-air market in the north end of Moscow, a young vendor recently said blades featuring Western rock groups, including Iron Maiden, Madonna and Metallica, alongside thousands of Gorbachev and badges reading "Perestroika." At the Bluebird, the newest Moscow nightclub, Western jazz and rock music is regularly played until the early hours of the morning. Blue jeans, which were seldom seen in Moscow streets even two years ago, are now common—but still expensive at \$100 each. Said 39-year-old Sasha Nizovets, who sells t-shirts at the city's south side "People don't buy much at these stalls. They prefer to buy state products because they're much cheaper, even if the quality is poorer."

Geely. In the Arbat, long lines of mothers and their young children wait patiently to have their pictures taken with stuffed dolls of Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and Geely. At a cost of \$13 for three five-by-four-inch photographs, Roman Kishin, who works for a government-owned photography store, said that almost all of his business comes from Soviets and very little from tourists. "Tourists will not pay our prices, because they think we are too expensive," he said. But few of Moscow's nine million residents are affluent enough to take advantage of the most striking changes—the availability of imported foods and consumer goods. Western diplomats estimate that only about 30,000 of the city's residents have enough income to buy imported goods and foods regularly. The new co-operative restaurants and stores are also too expensive for most Soviets. Lunch in Kapselshin's Uppermost Restaurant costs \$19 per person, or seven per cent of the average worker's monthly income.

Although the official Soviet news agency, Tass, reported in January that about 300,000 members of the nation's more than 140-million-strong workforce now engaged in either co-operative or individual ventures across the Soviet Union, many Moscovites say that they do not use the co-operatives at all because of the high prices they charge.

Despite egalitarian rhetoric, Moscovites observe class distinctions as pronounced as in these major Western cities. On the busy boulevards that run throughout the city, the middle lane is reserved for foreign residents and senior government and party officials, who are easily identifiable in their large, black chauffeur-driven Volga sedan cars—or full limousines for high officials. Gorbachev has tried to eliminate some perception of the bureaucracy, but many government officials

per, *Prosvet*, reported last month that demand in the city was running at 900 tons daily, compared with a planned consumption of 245 tons. As a result, shoppers have been limited to just over four pounds of sugar per person per purchase.

Beloys. Some Moscovites also say that indecision over government policies has resulted in delays in services and supplies. Declared Lyuba "It used to be that you would pay a repairman extra, and he would get a spare part



Living up for consumer goods in Moscow? Blue jeans are now common but still expensive.

or from some where. Now, he does not get it at all."

Reforms. Indeed, many Soviets say that, while they greatly approve of the long-term goals of Gorbachev's reforms, their everyday lives have changed very little. Declared Lyuba, a 39-year-old teacher who declined to identify herself further "Nothing is better in fact, some things are worse." The chauffeur-driven cars resulted in sugar shortages, because sugar is now being used for illegal black-market distilling. And although Moscow has not been as hard hit by the shortages as other areas, the daily party newspa-

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Lada automobile. And a bribe of a bottle of vodka to a mechanic will considerably shorten the wait to obtain an appointment or spare parts at a state-owned service station, which otherwise can take up to a year.

Prescription drugs, which are often not available at regular pharmacies, can often be obtained on the black market. Translations of Western novels, which are in short supply, cost \$5 at a state bookstore, compared to up to \$35 on the black market, where the variety is much wider. Vodka, which now sells for about \$14 in government stores, and \$15 if the buyer chooses to pay someone else to stand in line to make the purchase, costs up to \$30 on the black market when state stores are closed.

Privileges. The shortage of goods and services that drives the black market is so drastic that tourists arriving in Moscow are often astounded by the primitive conditions prevailing in the capital of a country recognized as a superpower. Local telephone calls to hotels or offices can become ordeals because offices do not have switchboards and, as a result, every line rings separately, making it impossible to leave messages. Few direct-dial telephone lines to foreign countries are available, and calls often have to be booked two hours in advance. On both local and long-distance calls, lines are often cut without warning.

Scarcity has also created many frustrations. Often, the problems begin before the goods have even arrived in the stores. In an article in the Soviet labor newspaper *Trud* (or Labor) in early May, an economist, Dr. A. Anisimov, estimated that the loss of potatoes and other vegetables that rotted before they ever reached stores cost the Soviet Union at least one billion rubles annually. Even items that appear to be safe can sometimes be dubious. Most foreign residents in the city stopped drinking the milk sold to local

residents after French Embassy officials warned last year that it might be laced.

Even under Gorbachev, foreign residents in the Soviet Union are kept isolated from local residents. Almost all foreigners residing in the city, including businessmen, diplomats and journalists, live in special apartment com-

plexes. Foreigners are assigned to a separate departure lounge and boarded at different times to tests away from other passengers. Although Soviet government officials say that the process is designed for the comfort of foreign residents, others suspect a different purpose. "Privilege is a clever mechanism to keep people apart," said British journalist Martin Walker, correspondent for *The Guardian* newspaper and author of the 1987 book *The Whining Ghost: The Soviet Union Under Gorbachev*.

Still, Western diplomats say that they notice a marked difference in the way they are able to deal with their Soviet counterparts. Declared one "It used to be that certain items were impossible to discuss if you wanted to get anywhere with them. Now, they do not give you everything, but everything is on the table to talk about."

Witnessed. Most observers say that the most critical phase of Gorbachev's reform efforts begins on June 28, when about 5,000 delegates from across the Soviet Union attend a special party congress—the first such gathering in more than 40 years. Gorbachev has described the conference, at which he will seek a mandate for implementing further reforms, as representing "a watershed in our history."

Until then, when Gorbachev's power to continue his reforms becomes more clear, many Moscovites seem to be reacting cautiously to the changes—holding back their views. Declared the 31-year-

old Tatars "We are not a people who change direction very easily. For many, the most constant threat in Soviet life was estimated more than half a century ago by the poet Vladimir V. Mayakovsky, in the "The Road" as we all know, begins at the Kremlin. It is her capital point!" Despite the shifting winds of a Moscow spring, that belief seems unlikely to be appreciated easily.

residents have separate sections for foreigners, offering items that are not available to other customers. In turn, foreigners pay a higher rate in restaurants and hotels.

On domestic flights in Aeroflot, the state airline, foreigners are assigned to a separate departure lounge and boarded at different times to tests away from other passengers. Although Soviet government officials say that the process is designed for the comfort of foreign residents, others suspect a different purpose. "Privilege is a clever mechanism to keep people apart," said British journalist Martin Walker, correspondent for *The Guardian* newspaper and author of the 1987 book *The Whining Ghost: The Soviet Union Under Gorbachev*.

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—ANTHONY WALSH/SMITHSONIAN



Models sport Soviet-designed fashions; class distinctions

TAKING STOCK OF THE WORLD

The new style is a striking departure from tradition. In contrast to their dour, rough-tooled predecessors, modern Soviet diplomats are often casual, well-tailored, highly educated and fluent in foreign languages. But most remarkable is the message they carry. Since coming to power in 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev has sharply altered the way that officials in his vast, often cosmopolitan country deal with the outside world. Abandoning the Cold War rhetoric of the past, Soviet leaders now say that they want to reduce military competition with the West, resolve costly regional conflicts and improve relations with non-Communist countries in the Third World.

Realism in Moscow, that approach is known as "new thinking," but Western experts say that it is simply realism. During the 1970s the Soviet Union spent billions of dollars intervening in local disputes from Angola to Afghanistan. Those efforts drained the economy, angered Western leaders and alienated those in sympathetic developing countries. Now, clearly eager to focus its resources on economic reform at home, the Soviet Union is sharply reducing its military spending abroad and pressing Marxist allies to ease their reliance on Soviet support.

In the process, the Soviets are backing away from the strong support for Third World liberation movements, which became a central tenet of their foreign policy under former leader Nikita Khrushchev. Earlier this year Gorbachev declared that it was "unadvisable and futile to encourage revolutions from abroad." Said John Stenbrink, a foreign affairs expert at the Washington-based Brookings Institution: "They are recognizing that their credibility as far as they previously claimed it, is not going to sweep the world—and there is not much they can do about it."

While withdrawing from costly, futile foreign entanglements, the Soviets

are working hard to forge new ties with trading partners such as Israel and Japan. Said University of Toronto Sociologist Timothy Colton: "The Soviets realize that, no matter how big the Red Army is, if they become irrelevant economically, they are not going to be a major world power for long."

Moscow's withdrawal from Afghan-

ist and from several Western countries Angola's Marxist government, despite massive Soviet assistance, is no closer to defeating South African-backed rebels than when civil war broke out after the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975. Now the Soviets are encouraging the Angolans to settle the dispute at the



Gorbachev and wife, Raisa, on visit to India in 1986, abandoning the Cold War rhetoric of the past

man is the clearest evidence yet of the country's new policy. But other signs can be found in almost every part of the globe.

Africa: In the mid-1970s, striving to expand its influence among African nations, the Soviet Union began to support three new Communist regimes: Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. Those axons are now among the poorest on a troubled continent. While maintaining military support for the Rhodanian regime of Lt.-Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, who has recently lost ground to separatist rebels, the Soviets are reportedly pressuring him to dismantle collectivist agricultural policies that have hampered food production. Meanwhile, Mozambique—run by former and South African-supported insurgents—has jettisoned Marxist economics and welcomed

conference table. Soviet officials guest-book support to exploratory peace talks in London in early May. A week later Angolan and South African officials met a second time, in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville.

Still, the recent flurry of diplomatic activity may not lead to a quick solution. South African and U.S. officials say that they well continue supporting the rebels until Cuba withdraws its 40,000 troops from the country. And Angolan leaders say that will not happen until South Africa removes its troops from Angola and grants independence to neighboring Namibia.

Central America: Moscow has two Marxist outposts in the region—Cuba and Nicaragua—and the Soviet leadership is clearly not happy with either. Recently overthrown as the cost of subsidizing Fidel Castro's Cuba—as

estimated \$15 million a day—Soviet officials have chided the Cubans about economic mismanagement and waste. Nicaraguan leaders have reportedly received similar scoldings. Said one European diplomat in Managua: "They have found that Nicaragua is a trap that doesn't turn off." The Soviets have also encouraged the Sandinistas to open talks with U.S.-backed contra rebels. To reinforce the point, they temporarily withheld all shipments to the Sandinista government early this year.

While betwixting their allies, Moscow's leaders are seeking friends

porting Vietnam and its crumbling economy cost Moscow an estimated \$4 billion last year. But the stubbornly independent Vietnamese are unlikely to agree to a rapid pact.

Moscow's objectives in Asia are mainly economic. In a groundbreaking speech in the Pacific port city of Vladivostok in July 1986, Gorbachev said he envisioned a new link between the Soviet Union—three-quarters of which lies in Asia—and the booming economies of the Far East. In November of the same year he traveled to New Delhi and signed an agreement to increase trade between India and the Soviet

Union, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The results so far have been mixed. Washington officials have agreed to Soviet involvement in a proposed international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli dispute. But many Israelis still see Moscow as fundamentally pro-Arab. "We have elements of change," said one Israeli government official, "but we don't yet see a new, coherent Soviet Middle East strategy."

Israel and the Soviet Union are eagerly exploring the possibility of re-opening diplomatic contacts, broken by Moscow after the Six Day War in 1967



Vietnamese troops staging a partial withdrawal from Kampuchea in November, 1987, pressing Marxist allies to settle conflicts

among Latin America's so-called new democracies. In a trip to Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay last September, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze urged closer trade links.

Asia: The focus of Moscow's new Asian policy is China. Relations between the two Communist giants, adversarial since a bitter division in the early 1960s, have been gradually improving. Gorbachev has already addressed two of Beijing's three conditions for closer ties: withdrawal from Afghanistan and Soviet troop cuts on the heavily militarized Sino-Soviet border. Meeting the third—bringing about an end to the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea—will be tougher. The Soviets are pressing the allies in Hanoi to withdraw the 100,000 Vietnamese troops who are fighting nationalist rebels in Kampuchea. Sup-

plies by 150 per cent. Moscow has also tried to woo the increasingly prosperous nations of Southeast Asia by advocating a so-called zone of peace in the region that would reduce foreign naval forces.

Middle East: Since President Anwar Sadat expelled them from Egypt in July, 1972, partly because of delays in Soviet arms deliveries, the Soviets have been outsiders in the region. Gorbachev and his envoys are now striving to change that. While maintaining close links with hardline Arab states, such as Syria and Libya, they have called for a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. A year ago Gorbachev publicly advised Syria's President Hafez al-Assad that recognizing Israel's right to secure borders was a key condition for peace in the Gulf he delivered the same letters to Thamer

Since last July the Soviets have maintained a steady delegation in Tel Aviv—officially to support Soviet property, mainly oil buildings and plots of land dating back to czarist times.

Some Western officials say that they distrust Moscow's friendly new demeanor. The Soviets, they say, are preparing to reverse a campaign for world domination. But if the Soviets are indeed sincere in wanting to improve their global relations, the consequences would be far-reaching. In the long term, the current bipolar world—led by hostile superpowers—could be replaced by a multipolar system. In the meantime, Western leaders are regarding the apparent warmup with the Soviet Communist adversary with wary fascination—and hope.

—MARCUS GRE with correspondents' reports

VISITORS WITH MODEST HOPES

The senior government official had a complaint for the reporters gathered in front of his. It was "inconveniences," he said during a pre-Moscow-summit briefing to hear the media calling the current thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations a "new détente." That, he said, implied that the current administration had adopted the policies of the Richard Nixon White House of the early 1970s. Declined the official, who by tradition remains anonymous. "I think we are doing something different. We don't have a name for it."

While comparisons with the détente of the 1970s clearly make officials in the once staunchly anti-Soviet Reagan White House uncomfortable, the parallels are evident. Like the thaw of the Nixon era, the warming of relations since late 1986 has resulted in an arms control treaty, improvements in the Soviet human rights performance and expanded cultural and commercial contacts between the two superpowers. In fact, last month, the Soviet Union issued 1,060 exit visas to Jews—the highest monthly number since May, 1981—clearly in anticipation of the summit.

Mutual But as Reagan prepared to make the first visit in 14 years by an American president to Moscow, his officials tried to keep expectations low. Rosemary Ridgeway, the assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs, said that beyond talks on nuclear agreements covering issues such as co-operation between the Coast Guard and the Soviet counter-patrol, the summit was unlikely to produce dramatic breakthroughs. Added Ridgeway: "Whether a world that is dominated by big headlines and what television thinks can go on a 30-second segment on the news is going to like this approach or not, I don't know."

Last week's muted mood was in stark contrast to the heady atmosphere immediately following Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington last December. Then, the leaders not only signed an agreement to eliminate their stockpiles of medium- and short-range nuclear weapons, they also agreed to begin negotiations on reducing by 50 per cent

the number of strategic, or long-range, nuclear weapons.

But when Reagan arrives in Moscow he may still not have congressional ratification for the agreement that is already signed. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty had been scrutinized for four months by three Senate committees. But before it

was slow. A conflict within the administration over strategic policy—particularly between the defense and state departments—may have been largely responsible for that. Still, experts point out that the far less complex re-agreement—covering only about five per cent of the superpowers' nuclear arsenals—took eight years to nego-



Soviet leader Gorbachev in Moscow expanded commercial contacts between the two superpowers

reached the Senate floor for a full vote, however, were raised about the matter of verifying the Soviets' implementation of the agreement.

Complex. As a result, Secretary of State George Shultz went to Geneva for more negotiations with the Soviets. By the end of last week it seemed that Shultz's efforts had overcome most of the senators' concerns. Still, a small group of right-wing senators—led by North Carolina's Jesse Helms—were attempting to block a ratification vote until after the summit by introducing a torrent of amendments. Among Helms' proposals—with virtually no chance of passing—was a clause requiring the United States to pull its troops out of Europe when the treaty went into effect.

Meanwhile, progress at separate talks on strategic arms cuts in Geneva

plete. Getting long-range missile stockpiles was bound to be a far more difficult task. And Ridgeway: "The only people who are disappointed at the absence of a strategic arms treaty are the ones who do not know anything about the treaty. It is an incredibly complex approach to arms control."

Hopes. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 brought an end to the earlier period of détente. Last week the Soviets began pulling out their troops. Also last week, meetings between Chester Crocker, the head of the state department's African section, and his Soviet counterparts gave rise to hopes at Washington that a timetable for removing Cuban troops from Angola might soon be struck.

The summit may also improve U.S.-Soviet trade. And Alice Young, a former U.S. trade official in Moscow who



Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington last December: a low-key summit could suit the administration

is now the Soviet Studies co-ordinator at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Without the summit and the progress on political issues, the current expansion in trade would not have been possible."

In the past U.S.-Soviet trade was mainly limited to wheat exports. Now Moscow is opening up the consumer market. PepsiCo Inc., which has been battling soft drinks since 1973 in the Soviet Union, recently announced

plans to open 15 fast-food restaurants there. The Glaxo food and beverage conglomerate will join McDonald's Corp., which has plans to open an outlet in Moscow, as well as a truck selling pizza on the street.

Difficult. But while a growing number of U.S. firms are looking at possible investments or joint ventures in the Soviet Union, Young says that trade is still difficult. Considering a recent joint venture for a petrochemical refinery be-

lieving talks in the middle of arms reductions eventually led to the new treaty, they had a serious short-term cost: US allies in Europe, whose territory is home to the medium-range missiles, expressed their serious concern that Reagan had attempted to negotiate without first consulting them. Clearly for Reagan, a summit where nothing much happens might be the most successful of all.

—JAN AUSTEN in Washington

CLEANING UP FOR VISITORS

It is usual practice in Moscow to clean up the city before the arrival of important foreign visitors. But as the Soviet capital prepared last week for the arrival of Ronald Reagan, the painting, patching and re-pointing reached fever pitch. Road workers filled potholes left un-

noticed for years, painters and plasterers put new faces on state-ly old buildings and gardeners trimmed shrubs and tended flower beds.

The pace was most intense near Rospo House, the American ambassador's residence where Reagan and his wife, Nancy, will stay outside the pastel-yellow building, workmen

were laying a new layer of asphalt on the sidewalks and greasing the train. Water trucks stood by in case they got the dirt they left behind. On Vorobyovskiy Street, a narrow road nearby lined with embassies, painters on scaffolding were hard at work and workers were repairing the curbs.

Residents living in the areas being refurbished said that they were surprised at their luck. It often takes years for government workers to get around to fixing streets and repairing dilapidated buildings. Other Moscowites who did not benefit from the renovations said that the authorities might stock the shops with a greater selection of foods during the summit—as they did for the 1980 Olympics.

The renovations in Moscow were not intended solely for the Reagan. According to Soviet official calculations, more than 4,000 foreign jour-

nalists, photographers and cameramen will descend on Moscow during the summit. The American news contingent alone will number 250 to 300. All four major US TV networks are sending their cameramen to Moscow, and each has set up special sets and elaborate communications systems. The ABC network, worried about Moscow's notoriously unreliable phone, has installed its own 88-line system in the 6,000-room Hotel Russia, connected to the United States by satellite.

Although they will be far outnumbered by the world media, US government officials will also be arriving in large numbers. A White House advance team has already moved to Moscow. For all the foreigners who follow the Reagan's official route, Moscow promises to be a pleasant period.

—DIANNE HENDERST in Moscow



Soviet tank company leaving Afghanistan—a country that could not be subdued

AFGHANISTAN

Leaving the war behind

Perched atop an ornate personnel carrier adorned with flowers, 21-year-old Nikolai Novikov grunted broadly as cheering villagers in the smudged town of Termez welcomed him home. The young soldier was the first Soviet to cross the Friendship Bridge over the Amu-Darya River which links war-torn Afghanistan with the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. Behind him, a convoy of 280 tanks and armored vehicles rumbled in, carrying about 1,200 more weary soldiers—the first of an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops scheduled to depart Afghanistan by next February. Relief written on their faces—rested faces, they greeted Uzbek children, waving the bright red stars of the Communist Soviet Pioneer, who rushed out of the crowd waving flowers. Along the road, makeshift stands were piled with fresh fruit and meat, while banners hailed the "soldier-internationalists who have courageously fulfilled their duty."

More than eight years after the Soviet Union embarked upon its ill-fated intervention in Afghanistan, its foreign soldiers were finally going

home. They had abandoned a conflict they could not win in a country they could not subdue. But they were the lucky ones. As many as 15,000 Soviet soldiers lost their lives in the vicious Afghan war. The withdrawing troops left behind a country still torn by religious and ideological strife—and still caught up in the maelstrom of a bitter civil war. As well, they left behind a Marxist government under siege by Afghan Mujahideen guerrillas intent on establishing an Islamic state.

Under the terms of a historic April accord between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the official Soviet nodus began on May 13 as the eastern city of Jalalabad. The next day in the capital, Kabul, some members of the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan—the 10-member, 60-man US observer force appointed to oversee the withdrawal—were among the crowd who cheered as Afghan President Najibullah thanked the Soviet soldiers for their assistance since the Kremlin dispatched troops to the country in 1979. They also heard Soviet military officials insist that the withdrawal was neither a retreat nor a defeat. One official had

earlier warned Mujahideen rebels fighting the Afghan government to expect "quick and severe" retribution if they tried to harass the departing Soviet troops on the 60-km leg to the northern border.

The entrained US observers, including five Canadians, took up their assignments in the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, and Kabul early this month, several weeks from their entry in a tense and volatile situation (see box). On May 14 a truck bomb exploded in central Kabul, killing 16 people near the newsmen stand where Najibullah and senior Soviet officials were to watch the departing troops. Shortly after that attack three rockets plummeted into the village of Zandak, Chabkhar on the edge of the Afghan capital, killing four people and wounding several more.

After the Soviet withdrawal, with the sound of rebel gunfire ringing from the unswapped mountains to the north, the convoy continued on its journey to the border. Soviet soldiers paused only for a meal break, stopping near the strategic Salang Tunnel 130 km north of Kabul to avoid the risk of bombardment from rebel rockets. Although Mujahideen guerrillas had said that they would allow the Soviet troops to withdraw without incident, Soviet television reported three unsuccessful attempts to fire on the convoys.

Of greater concern to the US observers, however, is what will happen after the Soviet troops have left. From the outset, the rebels have made it clear that the Soviet withdrawal is only the first step in victory. "We are fighting against an idea, not against a people," said rebel commander Mawlawi last week, adding that victory would be complete only when Najibullah's government fell.

The seven guerrilla groups that make up a rough-hewn military alliance are based in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, near the rugged Khyber Pass. The alliance, which retains its leadership every three months, is itself deeply divided, and many of its leaders are not popular among the more than three million war-weary Afghan refugees who have fled to the safety of Pakistan. Disputed over military tactics are common. Indeed, alliance members argue bitterly over the

question of whether to launch an all-out attack on departing Soviet troops. Still, even before the highly orchestrated first phase of the Soviet withdrawal, resistance fighters had begun to expand their control of the countryside. In the previous month 17 districts and 80 guerrillas and posts held by Soviet and Afghan troops had fallen to the Mujahideen. Now, observers are waiting to see where the rebels will strike next in their attempt to gain de facto control of the country.

Alliance leaders last week downplayed persistent rumors that their first major offensive would be against the strategic eastern city of Jalalabad. Sandwiched between a river and a sea, it is surrounded by mines and perimeter posts manned by the Afghan government's elite Samanid troops. The current spokesman for the alliance, Gulistan Hekmatyar, said that the rebels would choose their next major target according to how likely they would be able to take it. "We will be sure enough we can occupy and the enemy cannot resist," said Hekmatyar,

whose three-month tenure as alliance spokesman ends this month.

Still, there are differing opinions among Mujahideen groups as to the timetable for a possible takeover of Kabul itself. Hekmatyar said that the rebels will continue attacks on the capital, but that he would prefer "blowing one of the country's main cities, which would be easier to occupy than Kabul." Another leading resistance commander, disavowed, he argues that the capture of Kabul would lead to popular support and make it easier to seize other major centers throughout the country. But, on a recent clandestine trip into the capital, disavowed rebels in Kabul residents that "to give the last victory, only another step remains and that is the fall of the Russians' puppet regime. What the Mujahideen expect of you is to help us in completing the freedom and unifying the last part."

Meanwhile, alliance leaders have formed an interim government, which they hope to move from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Resistance groups are now laying the groundwork for the

move, which Hekmatyar said could come within weeks. He added that the Peshawar headquarters would reopen soon to serve the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees clustered in squalid-tent camps around the town.

Many observers say that the Soviet occupation—and the tens of thousands who were dead in a country whose total population is no more than 16 million—has marked a turning point in Afghanistan's history. The bloodshed, they say, could have Afghanized together in an Islamic holy war against the Soviet superpower. Others predict that the country will revert mainly to its fragmented tribal past. But there is little disagreement about the coming months. As the Soviets themselves eroded on a post-mortem of the occupation—renunciation of the latter divisions in the United States after the Vietnam War—there will be no quick and easy solutions to the bloody conflict they have left behind.

—ANN FINLAYSON
with KATHY GAGNON in Peshawar

The Canadian connection

As the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan progressed last week, Capt. Murray Allan marked his 12th year in the Canadian Forces at the Holiday Inn in Islamabad. He and four other Canadian officers are part of the 50-man US team observing the pullout of the withdrawing remnants of the Afghan army. "We realize there could be a bit of danger," said the 37-year-old native of Creighton, Sask. Added Allan: "When they tell us I was coming over here for a year, I thought it was fantastic. This is why I joined the Canadian Forces—the thrill, adventure and excitement of going to some foreign country."

Along with investigations leader Maj. Gordon Bess, 54, of Toronto, and Capt. Doug Marr of Aurora, Ont., a 46-year-old father of two who is the team's military administrative officer, Allan is based in the Pakistani capital with an ex-hill of the Canadian, Lt.-Col. David Lewis, 51, of Ottawa. He is the nephew of the US mission, and Capt. Joe Charlton, 62, also from Ottawa, are based in Kabul with the others. Under a rotation system, each observer will spend time in both posts.

Each member of the Canadian contingent has had US reconnaissance experience—mostly in Cyprus, Beirut or Jerusalem. But because the

Geneva accord on Afghanistan does not include a ceasefire, the Canadian observers face the danger of continuing warfare between Mujahideen rebels and the Afghan Army. All the observers will wear a skip-



Maj. Allan, Bess, Lewis, Charlton and Allan: Accompanying the dangers

blue beret adorned with a US badge, and the Canadians will have Maple Leaf flags on their sleeves. Shirley Elms, the wife of one Canadian, said that she is "not at all concerned" for her husband's safety. Referring to his

previous duty as an unarmed peacekeeper in Beirut and Jerusalem from 1983 to 1985, Elms said, "We've lived through this before."

The Canadian officers, too, developed the possible dangers. "The really don't know what you are going to experience if it happens," said Capt. Marr. He added, "There is no

who have been in Beirut have experience under fire. We are prepared."

—ANDREW BRANKIN
with KATHY GAGNON in Peshawar and
HELENE MACGREGOR in Ottawa

Surrender at the temple

For once, the siege ended quietly. A three-day standoff at the Golden Temple at Amritsar, 450 km northwest of the Indian capital of New Delhi, began on May 9 when radical Sikh militants opened fire from inside the temple grounds at a group of policemen. In the ensuing firefight, two civilians and three militants died, and five policemen were wounded. Over the next week and a half, another 20 Sikhs died in sporadic exchanges of machine-guns, mortar and rifle fire with 2,800 Indian troops who had surrounded the 70-acre religious complex in Punjab state. But late last Wednesday, in a surrender that seemed to mark the militants' own rhetoric, one woman and 45 men emerged peacefully from the temple's gilded inner sanctum, the Harmandir Sahib, an ornate marble building set in an artificial lake. Said one militant: "We ran out of food, water and ammunition."

The peaceful end to the confrontation reflected a change in tactics from a bloody assault conducted on the holy site by Indian troops in 1984. But it did not point to any break in the cycle of political violence that has gripped northern India. For most of this decade, Sikh extremists driven by fury nationalism and religious fundamentalism have used terrorist killings to back their demand for the creation of an independent country—which they call Khalistan—in Punjab. And even as the standoff at the Golden Temple ended last week, other extremists launched the year's worst rampage in a brutal shooting spree. Sikh gunmen murdered more than 100 people across Punjab, bringing the death toll from political violence in northwest India to more than 1,100 in 1988.

Two Sikh extremists died during the surrender when they darted across the path blocked by security officers. Three more died after apparently swallowing poison. Despite the deaths, the siege—called Operation Black Thunder—was a dramatic change from the bloodbath four years earlier. An estimated 900 Indian soldiers and 1,000 extremists died when troops stormed the Golden Temple in June, 1984. That attack, regarded by many Sikhs as a desecration of their holiest site, sparked riots in which 3,000 more people died. Four months later Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who had ordered the siege, was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards.

Those events clearly influenced Gandhi's son and successor as prime min-

ister, Rajiv Gandhi, as he sought a response to the latest flare-up of Sikh fanaticism. As in 1984, Sikh defiance increased steadily in the months leading up to the gunfire on May 9. Still, when Gandhi authorized the siege early this month, he ordered his troops not to fire directly on the Harmandir Sahib. And after last week's surrender



Sikh militants giving up to Indian troops: a continuing cycle of violence

he declared, "The biggest achievement is that there has been minimal bloodshed, and the sanctity of the Golden Temple has not been violated."

But the larger task of defusing extremism among India's 25 million Sikhs—two per cent of its 880-million population—has so far eluded Gandhi. He has been enticed for policy reversal on Sikh nationalism after authorizing a sweeping crackdown last year. Gandhi last month ordered several militant Sikh leaders released from prison. And even among moderate Sikhs, many blame Gandhi for provoking the standoff at the temple. Said Balbir Singh, a Sikh taxi driver in New

Delhi: "These dirty politicians of Rajiv Gandhi's government are responsible. It is a ploy to whip up anti-Sikh hysteria and win Hindu votes."

Meanwhile, the measure of Sikh extremists' response was clear even before the siege ended. In scattered killings on May 26, terror squads murdered 44 people, mostly Hindus, in Punjab. Two days later gunmen shooting pro-Khalistan slogans killed more than 20 laborers at a canal construction site 50 km from the state capital of Chandigarh. And the violence con-

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with terrorists and I won't bargain with drug dealers either, whether they are on U.S. or foreign soil."

The vice-president's bold words indicated a recognition that the Reagan administration's unsuccessful efforts to curb the Panamanian strongman have undercut his own efforts to appear to be taking a tough approach to drug control.

At the same time, Dukakis began to use the Noriega negotiations as a campaign issue. Aided by a landslide victory over Democratic rival Jesse Jackson in last week's Oregon

primary, Dukakis attacked the Reagan administration's past relationship with Noriega as an ally, pledging to launch a "real war" instead of a "phony war" on drugs.

But in the long run it is the Reagan administration's scandals that may prove the most damaging for Bush. Five years ago Democratic congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado began compiling a list of administration officials who had been accused of ethical violations. Schroeder's "black list," as she calls it, has grown to 345 names and now threatens to become a

cutting issue in the 1988 campaign—with Meese at the center.

For the past year independent counsel James McKay has been investigating Meese for alleged influence peddling. He has stepped into financial affairs, his ties to the troubled World Tech Corp., a Boston-based military contractor, and his involvement with a \$1-billion Iraqi oil pipeline deal. McKay has said that he has not gathered enough evidence to seek an indictment against the attorney general. But it is widely expected that McKay's report, due this week, will recommend further scrutiny of Meese's activities by various government ethics offices.

Last week the attorney general's problems continued. He fired his chief spokesman, Terry Reardon, for what Reardon later characterized as his insufficiently aggressive defense of Meese against "any and all criticism." After learning of Reardon's departure, Meese's top speech writer, William Schreiner, resigned in protest. The departures from the justice department were the latest in a series that began on March 29 with the resignations of deputy attorney general Arnold Burns and assistant attorney general William Wald.

Meese has steadfastly refused to abandon Meese. And last week, amid increasing congressional calls for his resignation, the President again expressed his support for the attorney general. Meese himself insists that he has done nothing wrong and refuses to step down, saying that to do so could be interpreted as "an admission of guilt."

But Peter Dinkley, communications director for Bush, acknowledged that Meese is a "liability." Bush himself said that he is wistful that the independent counsel's report before making judgments. But he added: "I must say I'm troubled by some of these allegations. It seems to me that the justice department has to be shown respect."

To help limit the political damage to the vice-president, Iowa Republican congressman James Leach said that Bush will have to distance himself from the White House. He added: "The solution is to let Bush be Bush rather than Reagan's vice-president. It is a better way than it is George Bush and not Ronald Reagan who is held accountable for the dishonesty of Edwin Meese. Bush has to get out of the White House, away from what might be described as the darkest aspects of the vice-presidency and run into the depths of America." Last week Bush was moving swiftly in that direction.

—ANDREW ROBERTS with
WILLIAM LINTHICUM in Washington

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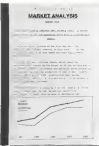
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An alarming vacuum

It was the kind of economic barometer that should have pushed North American stock prices sharply higher. Last week the U.S. economic department reported that increased exports had helped lower its merchandise trade deficit to \$12 billion in March—its lowest level in three years and a decline of almost \$5 billion from February. Some market analysts had predicted that the trade gap would be \$15.5 billion. But instead of laying on the strength of the trade deficit drop, investors scrambled to sell off their stockholdings, pushing the New York Stock Exchange's Dow Jones industrial index down 15 points and the Toronto Stock Exchange's (TSX) 300 composite index nearly 14 points lower. Said Marshall Miller, director of research at Toronto brokerage firm Nfldand Doberty Ltd. "With the market in its current mood, investors just aren't listening, no matter how good the news is." Indeed, on Friday, May 30, the New York Stock Exchange suffered one of its toughest trading days this year.

Stock markets are facing a crisis in confidence, which began on Black Monday, Oct. 19, when the bellwether Dow Jones plummeted 506 points in one day. In Canada, evidence of the negative mood is obvious on the TSX's trading floor, where the daily average value of trading during the first four months of

1988 was down 51 per cent from the same period a year earlier. Meanwhile, net sales of Canadian share-based mutual funds, which were booming before the crash, fell during the first quarter of 1988 to about one-tenth of what they were a year ago.

That lack of confidence is also pervasive on the New York Stock Exchange, where the daily average value is down 30 per cent in the first four months of 1988 compared to a year ago. And in the first quarter of this year U.S. central stock fund sales fell to \$9.7 billion from \$25.8 billion.

Investors are also expressing concern about computer-aided trading, inflation and higher interest rates will further undermine the markets. The resulting slowdown has reduced the ability of corporations to raise money through share issues and has also not sharply cut broker commissions. Said one Toronto broker: "I am not rubbing any money. Last month I had \$880 in take-home pay. I am sure enough to pay for groceries but not luxury club bills."

Nervous investors normally avoid the stock markets after a crash, transferring their cash into savings accounts, bonds and other safe investments. But the market's acute volatility since October has increased investor doubt. Larry Lamm, a partner in Connor, Clark & Lunn Investment Management Ltd., a



Bankers of the Toronto Stock Exchange: At present, despite a strong economy and climbing deficits

Vancouver investment consulting firm, said that the pessimism is so deep-seated that investors are ignoring the fact that corporate earnings are strong and many shares are selling at historically low prices relative to earnings.

A survey released last month by Riedinger & Co. Inc., a Wallingford, Pa., consumer research firm, indicates that only between three and four per cent of households surveyed plan to buy stocks in the immediate future—down from 58 per cent last August, the lowest share of investor confidence in the 34 years that the firm has conducted such polls. Said the firm's chairman, Albert Riedinger: "I have never seen confidence this low. Investors think the stock market is an enigma and no place for them to be."

But factors other than stock market psychology are keeping investors on the sidelines. They are also caught in a crosscurrent of conflicting economic trends, which continue to make the stock market look precarious. The Canadian economy is generally expected to slow later this year, or early in 1989, putting downward pressure on corporate earnings. At the same time, analysts say that they are increasingly concerned

that another round of money-feeding inflation may develop soon.

That could force central banks in Canada and the United States to intervene and use higher interest rates, the main weapon against inflation, to dampen economic activity. In fact, interest rates have been sliding higher during the past month, raising yields from safe, interest-bearing investments

the next night to 14 months' time. Investors also appear to be concerned about the long-term effects of program trading—a process in which computers automatically advise traders to buy or sell stocks under predetermined market conditions. Regulatory officials have expressed concern about computer-aided trading, which has been blamed for driving the U.S. markets up and down

drastically. But, says Robert Gordon, president of Twenty-First Securities Corp., a New York City investment firm specializing in futures and options: "Program trading may exacerbate the swings in prices but it doesn't start them."

Investor confusion has a dramatic effect on many stockbrokers' incomes. When investors are concentrating on low-risk instruments such as bonds, treasury bills and money-market mutual funds, commission incomes for brokers shrink. And much of the remaining stock trading is now carried out on behalf of professional money managers who pay rock-bottom commissions rates to the brokers they employ.

The tough times have already driven brokers out of the securities business, and firms have started to lay off poor producers. Figures released last week by The Investment Dealers Association of Canada show that the Canadian securities industry lost 1,085 jobs, or about four per cent of the to-

tal, between October and February. The trading decline also has implications beyond the investment industry. Corporate treasurers are finding it harder to raise new capital to expand their businesses by issuing stock. During the first four months of 1988 only \$26 million in new stock was floated in the U.S. compared to \$190 during all of 1987. The amount of capital raised has fallen to \$771 million during the first quarter of 1988 from \$12.7 billion in 1987. At 880 Dominion Securities Inc. in Toronto, broker Barbara Bland has seen the bulk of her income from new issues evaporate. Bland said that her business in blue-chip stocks has expanded enough to offset losses in that area. But, she added: "New issues were 94.7 per cent of my business. I am absolutely stressed out of my mind. I was making fabulous money. Then all of sudden it stopped."

For all that, Ropes, Wise, an investment strategist with Morgan Stanley & Co. Inc. in New York City, predicts that the markets will be higher by year-end. He added that most people have overvalued U.S. economic strength, and that when that becomes apparent, a renewed sense of inflation and higher interest rates should ensue.

But for now, a dramatic change in perception seems necessary to coax investors back into the markets. Richardson's Gremmer said that a string of encouraging economic reports in the United States, or another drop in stock prices—making them even more attractive to buy—might rekindle investor interest. Most likely, though, more than a year of strong economic indicators may have to be seen before well-shocked investors regain their nerve.

—JOHN DEANWIT with
ANN WALMSLEY in Toronto

Buying time with closures

One of the few certainties of North American stock exchanges since the share-price collapse of Oct. 19 has been the unpredictability of prices. As a result, thousands of investors have left the market, but officials in Canada and the United States are now trying to ease their back by studying trading patterns. In Washington last week a presidential commission proposed that American stock markets close for one hour if the Dow Jones industrial average fell by 100 points in one day. A further two-hour closure would occur in the event of a 400-point move.

Committee members said they hoped that action would calm the markets and reduce losses. But some analysts said that a shutdown would lead to a wave of panic-selling when the trading floors reopened.

Toronto Stock Exchange president Pearce Bonting said that he approved of the so-called circuit-breaker system because something had to be done to restore confidence. But some brokers strongly opposed the U.S. proposal. Said Michael Simms, a vice-president of Toronto-based Nikhil, Thomson, Dawson Ltd.: "A one-hour close will just create more selling, and the market will drop even further." But, without some calming action, such as adoption of the U.S. suggestion, the attitude of investors might be impossible to change.

A scary view of the future

The possibility of recession, perhaps even depression, has haunted the financial world since the largest stock market crash in modern history last October. Despite an apparently strong recovery from the economic and psychological shock—a stunning \$1 trillion was erased from the value of shares worldwide—investors, regulators and consumers have expressed concerns about their financial futures. And California economist and financial author Paul Erdman says that investors have a lot to be concerned

about. In his recently published book, *What's Next, Erdman* says that there will be a "financial crisis of unprecedented proportions" beginning next February or March and that it will badly pit the economy.

The downturn will begin with a "series of major domestic bankruptcies," Erdman says, followed by a huge contraction in consumer spending. He claims that the downturn will be reached in August or September of 1989. But

Erdman says that the turnaround should be rapid, with an influx of foreign investment rejuvenating the American economy by 1990.

He says that the economic downturn will actually be worthwhile. Necessary housecleaning will set the stage for a period of strong growth in the 1990s, and a return to low inflation and five-per-cent interest rates, which have not been seen since the 1960s. And that, said Erdman, will segue the next long rally on Wall Street.



Erdman: disaster



Packing lobster in Nova Scotia making a deliberate attempt to maintain exports and protect jobs in the Maritimes.

A short step toward a showdown

A goal that has evaded North American leaders from Sir John A. Macdonald and President Grover Cleveland to Mackenzie King and Harry Truman moved a step closer in reality last week. The Canada-U.S. free trade accord cleared a major obstacle when two important congressional committees passed a draft version of the American legislation designed to implement the pact. But in the process, the powerful Senate finance committee also opened the door for Canada's promises to kill the agreement.

At issue are proposed Senate amendments to the legislation. One of these would force President Ronald Reagan to withhold final approval of the accord until all provinces agree to binding legislation needed to fully implement the pact. And a provincial consensus still seemed elusive when the premiers of both Ontario and Prince Edward Island again voiced their objections to the deal. At the same time, Western provinces outlined On-

tario Premier David Peterson for what they said was an attempt to upset an agreement that will benefit their province. Asked whether Peterson's position is a problem, chief U.S. free trade negotiator Peter Murphy said, "You can count on it."

Meanwhile, International Trade Minister John Crosbie talked with Peterson in Toronto. Not following their meeting, Peterson said that there is a "very distinct possibility"

that Ontario will challenge free trade in court. And by week's end, Peterson appeared to have found an ally in F.E.I. Premier Joe Ghis, who said that he is concerned by proposed Senate finance committee amendments that would restrict F.E.I. points and lobster exports to the United States.

In response to these amendments, Ottawa filed an official protest in Washington. And the Canadian Embassy also sent two diplomatic notes to the state department criticizing the proposed restrictions on lobster and the Senate's refusal to accept the agreement's terms for settling a dispute over imports of U.S. plywood into Canada.

Meanwhile, Crosbie said that he would invoke Ottawa's constitutional power to ensure that a free trade agreement is signed, and this week the Mulroney government will introduce legislation to implement the accord. But introducing the trade bill through the Commons will be difficult. Said Mr. Leader Ed Broadbent: "We are going to use all the procedural

overruns open to us to stop this legislation." Added Liberal House Leader Herb Gray: "We will fight the government every step of the way."

Congress has cleared the way for a potential final vote later this year. But there could still be a congressional backlash if Reagan votes a sweeping and restrictive U.S. trade bill, designed to protect U.S. industry from unfair foreign competition. The bill has passed both houses of Congress, and while the Senate appears to lack the necessary two-thirds majority to override a presidential veto, Democratic senators have threatened to filibuster by refusing to approve the Canada-U.S. trade legislation.

The White House has already made concessions in order to gain congressional endorsement of the trade pact. Senators from the western states had expressed concern about competition from Canadian industries involved in the production of lead, zinc, copper, chromium, oil and natural gas. But the senators were reassured when the White House agreed to an amendment that would help U.S. firms who say that they are being hurt by subsidized Canadian firms. The amendment would allow the U.S. trade representative's office and the commerce department to monitor imports from Canada.

Crosbie may have to show similar flexibility in dealing with the provinces, which have far more power in areas affecting international trade than American states. For his part, Peterson is refusing to change existing Ontario regulations that make imported American wine and liquor more expensive than Ontario wines. He has also said that the province may launch a court challenge if free trade legislation undermines provincial powers. "We certainly reserve our right to go to court," he said, after meeting with Crosbie.

Other says that he is opposed to a provision that authorizes the President to regulate external trade on potato exports from Canada. He says that he is also concerned by a further amendment, which would bar the export of Canadian lobsters that are too small to meet minimum-size requirements set up by U.S. lobster shippers. Petrie farming and lobster

fishing are two of the Island's three largest industries. Said Ghis: "We will use any means in our power to prevent this blow to the livelihood of Prince Edward Island's economy and its people."

The opposition raised by Peterson was high on the agenda in the four western provinces held meetings in Vancouver Island last week. In a comment, the four leaders expressed



Peterson threatens a legal challenge.

frustration that the future of Ontario's wine industry was "being used to delay the free trade agreement's implementation, and put at risk, for the West, the very significant economic opportunities with free trade." In Winnipeg, Manitoba Liberal Opposition Leader Sherre Carstairs added to the debate by declaring that his party could bring down the accord. He urged the federal government of Premier Gary Filmon to continue to support the free trade agreement.

In Washington, the Senate amendments were clearly designed to use domestic support for the accord. Senator George Mitchell of Maine—who

has been Canada's position on acid rain—successfully argued for the amendment that restricted F.E.I. potato and lobster exports. At the same time, the Senate complicated a long-running dispute over Canadian standards for plywood used in new home construction. The Senate amendments called for continuation of punitive U.S. duties on Canadian plywood if the Canadian market is not opened up before the free trade agreement goes into effect in January.

Canadian officials in Washington are trying to make their objectives to the amendments widely known. At the same time, embassy spokesman John Poldhouse said the Canadian government believes that the proposed Senate amendments may disappear as the ratification process continues. He added: "It's at an early stage, there's still ample opportunity for these things to be dropped. We know from our contacts on the Hill that there are many people up there who differ from these things as much as we do." In fact, Senate finance committee chairman Lloyd Bentsen said, "We have strong support for the agreement as it now stands."

In an attempt to rush free trade legislation through Parliament, Crosbie said that the government may limit debate on the second reading of a free trade bill to just four days. But Broadbent said that such a limitative was "absolutely irresponsible and foolish," declared Broadbent. "They can't pretend that there is any serious legislation and then have the nerve to suggest that we can only have five days of debate." The Mr. Leader also demanded that the government release copies of the two diplomatic notes sent to the United States to protest the restrictions on Canadian lobster and plywood exports. "I want to see what the government of Canada is saying," demanded Broadbent. "I frankly do not believe it is a strong protest."

In Ottawa, government officials say that they will not let the new developments alter its free trade timetable. The government vows to hold the debate on the trade bill to just four days. It will also likely introduce the initial implementing legislation this week in a single bill that will amend up to 30 different acts to make them comply with the proposed agreement. But the parliamentary support may be more elusive. It will require skilful handling by the Mulroney government to prevent a re-writing of the timetable.

—JOHN DEGENHART with
LARI ALSTON in Washington, ROSE LAYNE and
THEODORE TEBERICH in Ottawa and
BARBARA MCKINTOSH in Charlottesville



Left: Crosbie (right): taking an aggressive stance



Gates, no improviser, fuses young man with software designs on the future

The youngest billionaire

The concept is a revolutionary one. With the aid of computers, future homeowners will be able to decorate their living rooms with animated landscapes in which the weather changes. By merging television and computer technology, they will be able to create customized dramas based on their personalities and interests. According to William H. Gates, chairman and chief executive officer of Microsoft Corp., space-age gadgetry should be widely available by the mid- to late-1990s. At 32, Gates is described as the youngest self-made billionaire in history, and Microsoft, based in Redmond, Wash., near Seattle, is the world's largest computer software company. In a speech in Tokyo last week Gates declared that the personal computing revolution is still gaining momentum. He added, "The miracle will continue for at least the next 10 years."

Gates's company achieved big-league status in 1981 when International Business Machines Corp., of Armonk, N.Y., the world's largest computer manufacturer, chose Microsoft's operating system for its personal computers. The company's sales skyrocketed to \$405 million in the year that ended June 30, 1985, from \$119 million in 1980. For the nine months ending last March 31, Microsoft sales soared to \$821 million. But one potentially trou-

blesome development occurred in late March when Apple Computer Inc., of Cupertino, Calif., filed a lawsuit against the Gates firm and another company claiming that the display graphics on their computer screens were an infringement on Apple copyrights. Last week Gates described the action as a publicity stunt. He declared, "They sent out 300 copies of the suit to the media before calling us."

Gates comes from a close-knit and prominent Seattle family. His father is a lawyer, and his mother is a former schoolteacher who later became a director of a bank. Gates enrolled at Harvard in 1973, but he and his high-school friend Paul Allen both dropped out of university in order to form Microsoft in 1975. They set a lofty objective: they wanted to make the personal computer a useful tool that could be found on every desk. Gates said that there are now an estimated 30 million personal computers in use worldwide, compared to only 10,000 large, main-frame computers. He also estimated that 15 per cent to 20 per cent of office workers in North America now have computers on their desks. That figure will eventually rise to 50 per cent, while electronic communication becomes the standard method of distributing messages and memos within companies.

Over the next five years the expand-

ing capabilities of personal computers will also make them a much more vital part of the workplace, said Gates. Desktop computers have already become as fast and powerful as minicomputers and mainframes, which will increasingly become data warehouses. Software now being developed will allow users to produce higher-quality graphics and even animated images on a computer screen. Gates also foresees computer links between companies that will allow them to communicate with each other and place orders electronically. Declared Gates, "The bottom line is that the next four or five years will be even more exciting than the past four or five have been."

Because the computer industry is growing so fast and the technology is changing so rapidly, Gates refuses to make any predictions about how big Microsoft will become. The company currently employs over 2,000 people, an astronomical increase from the 125 workers employed in 1981. At the same time, Gates contends that developing accurate five-year forecasts in the computer industry is just as impossible. Microsoft prepares what he calls "hardcore" sales projections by product, by customer and by country for the coming year. The company does "pretty solid" three-year forecasts by product group. Said Gates: "At the five-year level, it's like now, it gets foggy."

Microsoft's success has made Gates personally very wealthy. He owns about 85 per cent of the company's \$3.2 million outstanding shares, which were trading in the \$70 to \$75 range last week. Although last October's market crash reduced his net worth, Gates still ranks Forbes magazine's list of billionaires in 1985 for the first time. While his youthfulness and his wealth have made him well-known in the United States, he has become a much bigger celebrity in Japan. Said Gates: "The media covers me 10 times as much in Japan as in the United States. The notion of a kid changing the established rules of how a computer works, they love that stuff." But despite his wealth and fame, Gates remains obsessed with computers and keeping his company at the forefront of the computing revolution.

—SPARK JONES



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Cohon's hamburger diplomacy

By Peter G. NEWBOLD

Next week's Moscow summit meeting will be concerned much more with reducing nuclear warheads than with increasing business contacts that the Soviet Union hopes will close a market economy. Canadian entrepreneurs may want to study the case history of the one major Canadian deal that has been completed: the setting up of 20 McDonald's fast-food outlets in the Soviet capital.

The substance of that initiative—how Gerry Cohon, the Canadian head of McDonald's, spent 12 years lobbying for official permission to export this ultimate expression of North American capitalism—has been widely reported. Less well-known are the details of the negotiation. The first contact was made at the 1974 Olympics in Montreal when Cohon lent a McDonald's bus to the Soviet delegation and they mutually agreed to discuss the feasibility of opening temporary restaurants at the 1980 Olympic Games, due to be held in Moscow.

That off-the-official bus accord led to a private meeting with Vladimir Pavlovich Shkumakov, the Soviet minister of trade. According to Soviet bargaining tactics, the two men exchanged gifts (Canadian fruit samples for a silver samovar), toasted one another in neat vodka, and agreed to talk again. At some point in the conversation Cohon discovered that Shkumakov loved to hear classical balalaika music.

"When I got back to Canada," he later recalled, "I had somebody cut the bottom out of a balalaika I'd bought in Moscow and put in a tape system with a speaker connected to a vodka. When I flew back, everywhere I went, I turned on the music with the balalaika in it. They kept asking me to play. I just played and advanced 24 hours pressing and said that I wasn't ready yet. Finally, there was a dinner for about 30 people in a small, dark restaurant off Red Square. Everybody was very relaxed, so I got up to play my balalaika. I walked into a gloriously warm room from the bar, pulled the barman, and then beautiful music came out. The Russians were used. They would have voted me into the Kremlin that night."

It's worth pointing out, and now the guy sitting across from him, the trade minister, is saying through a translator that he grew up on a farm in Georgia, never had a chance to leave and would give anything to play that well.

"Do you want to learn?" I asked him.

"Yes, very much," he said.

"So I hand it across the table. The balalaika is still playing when he gets up. I left the restaurant with him, and Shkumakov told me later that he showed it off to some pretty highly placed people, with the comment 'Now that's technology!'"

That early round of exchanges was scotched by the firm-world boycott.



Cohon vodka and a rigged balalaika

that crippled the 1980 Olympics, but having made his initial contacts, Cohon kept returning to Moscow three or four times a year. "I always thought that serving the man on the street was the most important thing we should be doing," he told me at his Toronto head office recently. "The Soviet market is 800 million people, and on certain days of the year Moscow has 12 to 14 million people—that's half the population of this whole country."

When legislation permitting joint

ventures with non-Soviets was introduced in January, 1987, Cohon started serious talks with Moscow, the food-service division of the capital city's municipal council, headed by vice-chairman Viktor Shavov. By May, 1987, an official protocol had been signed and a group of six Soviet businessmen arrived in Canada to tour the McDonald's facilities. That included a McCain potato plant, a bakery and a fish plant. McDonald's training facilities, and a spare-parts manufacturing plant at Cobourg. But Cohon's intention was to illustrate through actual visits the fact that McDonald's is really an integrated food-distribution system—precisely the technology that the Russians recognized they lacked.

The Soviets were particularly interested in the fact that three-quarters of McDonald's employees still attend school and are paid fairly while completing their education. "There is nothing comparable to McDonald's in our country," said Shavov. "It involves a specific pattern of organization and technology, unobtainable without certain industrial methods."

The next wasn't all work. At one point Cohon took the delegation to the Ontario Science Centre. There, Shavov was persuaded to try the Van de Graaf electrostatic machine that, when you put your hand on it, makes your hair stand on end. Cohon had a hidden photographer snap a model shot of the staid Russian official looking like a hard-rock punk. He had it enlarged and at a business conference retweeted that he was handing out the offending picture to curious Canadian journalists. He never did.

McDonald's, which currently serves 22 million customers daily in 56 countries, first expanded overseas in 1968 with a Paris branch. The name of its most popular product, the Big Mac hamburger, had to be changed when an alert executive discovered that in French slang your nose meant "big pop." The first Soviet McDonald's will open on Gorky Street a year from now; other outlets in Leningrad and Kharkov may follow. The Big Mac will likely be called Boboko—the word means "ground" in Russian—but there will be no McMillins.

Cohon calls his current venture "hamburger diplomacy" and hints that it will ease world tensions. Maybe. But if you're thinking of doing business with the Soviets, don't leave home without a balalaika.



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In the environmental 1996 movie *Blue Velvet*, she starred as a faded nightclub singer immersed in a world of drug dealing and sadomasochism. But in the just-released *20th & 30th*, **Roseanne** has exorcised sex and violence for love and compassion. In the movie, the 35-year-old daughter of the late actress legend **Burgess** plays a French nanny who believes that she is having a love affair with a neighboring estate owner, played by *Blue Velvet* director **David Lynch**, 42, who is also Roseanne's real-life lover. Said Roseanne of critics who question her penchant for appearing in offbeat movies: "All I can say is, 'Because I do.'"

Former publisher, magazine editor and diplomat **William Arthur Irwin** celebrates a milestone on May 27. On that day Irwin, who worked at *Maclean's* for 25 years—he was editor from 1945 to 1960—turns 90. As for his current pursuits, the Victoria resident, who served as Canada's ambassador to Mexico and Guatemala in the early 1980s, said, "I live quietly but I'm very interested in what is going on in the world." Added Irwin, who retired as publisher of the *Victoria Daily Times* in 1971 at 73: "Old men shouldn't run society. The world needs an influx of new blood and new approaches."

For nearly a month the appointment was an open secret. Finally, last week, the Toronto Symphony made it official: **Gustav Herbig**, 56, will succeed



Roseanne's new embracing love and compassion

Andrew Davis—who is to become chief conductor of Britain's *Academy of Music*—as music director of Toronto. Herbig, now music director of the Detroit Symphony, will assume the new post full time after his Detroit contract expires in 1999. Born in Czechoslovakia to German parents, Herbig directed the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra and the Berlin Symphony Orchestra before moving to Detroit four years ago. But the sensitive maestro was quick to distance himself from his martial background. He declared, "There will be no dark cloud of heavy German repertoire settling down on Toronto."



Herbig: a new maestro with a promise to keep

Her big announced says "The Sex Lady." That is the nickname Toronto nurse **Sue Johnson** picked up 18 years ago when she began visiting high schools to discuss sex. "Students would see to each other, 'Look, here comes the sex lady!'" said Johnson, who lectures to about 20,000 Canadian students a year as well as hosting a weekly radio phone-in show in Toronto and writing a monthly column in *Ottawa*. Her just-published book, *Talk Sex*, deals frankly with topics from love and orgasm to AIDS. The mother of three chil-

dren—all now adults—she acknowledged that discussing sex with her own youngsters was a major challenge. "I wanted to know: 'I could talk to everybody's kids but mine.'"

For director and former U.S. air force first lieutenant **Leo Penn**, returning to Berlin after more than 40 years provided an emotional experience. Said Penn, 66, whose movie *Judgement in Berlin* has just been released: "It was eerie, because I had bombed the city during the Second World War." The movie, which stars **Martin Sheen** and the director's son, **Sean Penn**, is based on the true story of a 1936 airline hijacking by an unemployed East German waiter, who forced a Polish plane bound for East Berlin to land in West Berlin. "I had an incredible feeling of déjà vu when I saw the remains of a train station," recalls Penn. "I could remember that our bombing target one day was a railroad complex and I was sure that this must have been the place."



Cosell: outling, acerbic and unhappy

led in chronicling. But now Cosell, 68, has himself become the object of a fellow broadcaster's biting remarks. In his just-published book, *Up Close and Personal*, **Jim Spence**, 51, who was Cosell's boss at ABC, writes that Cosell failed his settling in with shots of vodka consumed while on-air. Added Spence: "He has made millions of dollars, traveled the world, been applauded and honored. Yet today, I think he is one of the unhappy human beings on this planet."

—TYRONNE O'NEILL with correspondents reports



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Sexual orientation and the pulpit

It dropped like a bomb—and the resulting explosion rattled the establishment. On March 4, after four years of study, a 13-member United Church committee released a 118-page report called *Theological Christianity: Understanding of Sexual Orientation*. Life-style and Ministry. Its key recommendation: that sexual orientation should not be a barrier to participation in any aspect of church life. If the report is ratified at an August meeting of the 122d general council, the church's highest court, it will close the way for men and women who engage in homosexual relationships to be ordained as ministers. But the outcome has grown increasingly uncertain in the wake of the storm of controversy that followed the report's release. Said church moderator Anne Squire, 67. "It is difficult to find a neutral person. It teaches the emotions of people at a deep level."

The report has not only created major dissension among clergy and laity in the church but it has also set off waves of protest among outsiders who are concerned that it will set precedents that other churches might follow. Still, some United Church historians say they do not anticipate that the current crisis will divide the church. Since it was formed in 1965, the 900,000-member church—the largest Protestant denomination in Canada—has enjoyed a reputation for tolerance, open-mindedness and a willingness to grapple with sensitive social issues. Indeed, several prominent studies have dealt with sexual orientation, and the church's current practice is to ordain homosexuality under certain circumstances. "Sexual orientation has never been a barrier to the ministry," acknowledged Squire, who is married and a grandmother. "The question is not even raised in our circles. There are homosexual ministers—practicing as such—in the church. Some we know, some we don't."

Convened in 1984 by the 36th general council to afford the church an

opportunity to continue studying sexual orientation issues, the report was written by a committee of clergy and laity which included two homosexuals and one lesbian. Among its more controversial statements: "We acknowledge that homosexual, gay and lesbian

or an alternative, and highly organized groups—including many ministers—who present coherently reasoned theological arguments and rally support by holding meetings and distributing petitions. Said Squire, "I was prepared for dissent, but I was not



Squire (below): a storm of controversy over a proposal recommending homosexual ordination

as adults can engage in sexual behavior within a committed relationship with the intention of permanence that is morally responsible." The report concludes that, having homosexuals from the ministry who are in a "just, loving, health-giving" relationship would be discriminatory—and it calls for the council to "affirm that sexual orientation is not of itself a barrier to the life and ministry of the church, including the order of ministry."

Among the report's advocates are homosexual clergy who say that they would welcome the opportunity to be open about their sexuality. Others support the recommendation on the grounds that the ordination of acknowledged homosexuals is an inevitable development. The dissenters include individuals who are outraged by practices that they regard either as a

prepared for the degree to which it has been organized and orchestrated."

One of the largest and most vocal of those groups is the newly formed Clergy Council of Concern, composed of hundreds of United Church ministers and members from across the country. Many of its members say that they accept homosexuals in the clergy as long as they are not sexually active. Said Ron Williams, minister of the Westminster United Church in Regina. "I have many friends in clergy who are homophobic homosexuals and who do a magnificent job of ministering."

Another group of clergy and laity, the United Church Renewal Fellowship—founded in 1960 out of concern for the direction of the church—has taken issue with what it perceives to be the report's premise that homosexuality is natural. John



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Theodore, minister of Echo Place United Church in Bradford, Ont., and the organization's executive director, says instead that homosexuality is a learned behavior—and, as such, can be changed. Indeed, John Howard, a minister of Collier Street United Church in Barrie, Ont., and a task force member who wrote one of the report's two dissenting opinions, said that he bears witness to the wisdom of that solution. "I was struggling with homosexual tendencies for 30 years," Howard told *Newsweek*. "But with the help of two people in my congregation, I experienced a gradual healing and change."

At the grassroots level, said Squires, "people seem to feel that being a homosexual is all right—as long as you don't practice it." The dissension, she added, occurs over questions of lifestyle. "People hear stories about young boys being led astray—and they are horrified. But we would no more ordain a pedophile than we would a rapist." Still, many church members view their ministers as role models, Squires said. And she added that, as a result, when ministers engage in what is otherwise viewed as acceptable sexual behavior, "people see that as a decline of moral standards."

The congregation of the Warman United Church in Warman, a community of 24,500 about 26 km north of Saskatoon, is one notable exception. Its March minister Sally Boyle publicly declared that she is a lesbian. At first, some members of the congregation protested—but eventually most of them rallied to her support. Sally Boyle, 51, finally is overwhelmingly assuming. The congregation has taken a major political step in accepting her.

As church members debated the issue this month at annual meetings of its 113 regional conferences of clergy and lay church leaders, many of them—born between compassion and conscience—said that they found it a painful and beloved exercise that Squires, although deeply worried that an irreparable schism might develop, said that in the long run the cost may be worth it. It could be strengthened and tempered like steel. "Encouraged by the way the church has weathered past crises," Squires added that the faith stands brave for a positive outcome.

—MARY McIVER with DALE REIDEN
ByRON ROBERT ADAMS in Toronto and
DEAN BOYCE in Philadelphia



O'Donnell: a firing, a legal precedent and a strong message to corporate climbers

JUSTICE

Backstabbers beware

The cooperative nature of most institutions often encourages aggressive employees to scramble up the corporate ladder at the expense of co-workers. But backstabbers now must beware because of a first executive who acted on his belief that a co-worker had caused his dismissal. He took his former colleague to court—and after a nine-day trial he won a favorable judgment and \$80,000 in compensation. Supreme Court of Ontario Justice John O'Donnell ruled last month that Max Roehl, 51, the former general manager and executive vice-president of Ottawa-based Nortec Air Conditioning Industries Ltd., had fallen victim to "a concerted plot" by Joseph Houlihan, 41, to succeed Roehl. In his decision, O'Donnell wrote that Houlihan "went after the plaintiff's job, which he coveted; he did it with determination and without any concern for the health or welfare of the plaintiff."

O'Donnell's judgment is the first of its kind in Canada in an employment case, according to Roehl's Ottawa-based lawyer, David Power. And Power said that he believed the ruling would send a strong message out to other corporate climbers—that there could be a price to pay for unscrupulous office politics. Indeed, the judge ordered Houlihan to pay Roehl almost \$60,000—a decision that Houlihan is appealing—and the company to pay about \$15,000 in lost bonuses and vacation time. "Healthy competition is

good for everybody," said Power. "But there has to be a few. There have to be rules of the game."

Roehl's case began on Nov. 9, 1992. At that time, officials from Canadian, a Swiss-based firm that had substantial interests in Nortec, fired him as Nortec's second-in-command. That night, days later Nortec president Jean Guay—who had not supported that firing—decree-promoted Houlihan to vice-president, finance and administration. By the end of that month relations between Houlihan and Roehl had soured dramatically, and O'Donnell concluded, Houlihan refused to cooperate with Roehl, as well as denigrating him to their superiors. Those tactics succeeded: Nortec fired Roehl on April 22, 1993, with one day's notice and six months' pay.

In his judgment, O'Donnell said that Roehl was "an honest, hardworking gentleman who walked into a horret's nest" and who in the end was "left in the lurch" by the people who had hired him. Roehl, who now works at a platoon salesman in Montreal, is celebrating his victory on a one-month holiday in Europe. And Power predicted that other victims of corporate power plays may soon follow his client's lead. Since the ruling, in fact, Power's office has received calls from potential clients. Their common purpose is to knock the corporate climbers down a few rungs.

—NORA UNDERWOOD

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A new nicotine warning

Every package of cigarettes currently sold in the United States displays one of several stark warnings from the federal surgeon general. Among them: "Smoking causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and may complicate pregnancy." According to government estimates, tobacco kills more than 350,000 North Americans annually—about the equivalent number of fatalities that would occur if 30 fully loaded jumbo jets crashed each week of the year. Despite those grim cautions and frightening statistics, approximately 30 per cent of the U.S. population—and 47 million Canadians—continue to use tobacco products regularly. And last week the surgeon general, Dr. Everett Koop, delivered one of the strongest official endorsements of the substance ever: he declared that tobacco was as seriously addictive as heroin and cocaine.

As a result, Koop—who got in a smokes-free society by the end of the century—is seeking tough new laws that would prohibit the sale of tobacco products to minors. Koop is a fervent evangelical Christian and former Philadelphia pediatric surgeon whom U.S. President Ronald Reagan appointed surgeon general in 1981. Last week he noted that while 43 states already prohibit the sale of cigarettes to minors, those laws are loosely enforced. His proposals, which formed a part of the 20th annual surgeon general's report to the U.S. Congress, would include stringent licensing of tobacco vendors, a ban on controversial cigarette machines and a stronger warning label on cigarette packages warning tobacco's addictive properties. According to Koop, that addiction is caused by nicotine, an alkaloid substance that affects the central nervous system and can have mind-altering effects.

But tobacco industry spokesmen immediately attacked the report's findings. They charged that Koop's conclusions were unproven—and they added that labelling tobacco as addictive

substance would only serve to criminalize the serious threat posed by such drugs as heroin. Declared Brunson Moran, a spokesman for the Washington-based Tobacco Institute, the industry's trade association.



Cigarette smoker, Koop (below), compares with heroin and cocaine

to its trade association. "The claims that smokers are 'addicted' defy common sense and contradict the fact that people quit smoking every day."

In response, Koop stressed that his 618-page report had simply summa-



ried the findings of more than 50 reputable scientists and 2,000 scientific articles. According to research criteria used to determine addiction, tobacco is clearly a powerfully enmeshing drug. Those characteristics include the com-

pulsive use of a substance, "a helpless victim of irresistible urges," and the fact that "despite adverse physical, psychological or social consequences, cigarette consumption leads to further use."

Meanwhile, in Canada, many critics—including spokesmen for a coalition of more than 200 organizations—accuse Ottawa of delaying proposed legislation that is designed to curb smoking. Last March federal Health Minister Jake Kopp pledged that Bill C-51 would become law before the House of Commons rose for a summer recess that is now expected to begin in August. Declared Kenneth Kyle, a spokesman for the Canadian Cancer Society: "We are concerned. There have been many promises—but time is running out." In January the Ottawa-based Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council hired veteran Conservative political adviser William Neville as its president. In part to lobby against Bill C-51, which would ban tobacco advertising by January 1993, and limit cigarette producers' sponsorship of cultural and sporting events, it set in motion.

Still, such legislative maneuvers and Koop's report underscores a growing trend to restrict the use—and production—of tobacco products. Indeed, Lynda Koskovic, senior scientist in charge of behavioral research on tobacco use at Ontario's Toronto-based Addiction Research Foundation, said that Koop's message published another uneasy aspect of tobacco as Rud Koskovic, whose research findings were included in the report: "Inhaling cigarette smoke is tremendously effective in getting nicotine to the brain—it is more effective than an injection of heroin in getting that drug to the brain." That information may bolster the movement for a smoke-free society—but it also helps to explain why more than 40 million North Americans find it difficult to quit.

—ANNETTE

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Philly's state funeral: military honors in Moscow for a notorious double agent

ESPIONAGE

Legacy of a master spy

The body of the most notorious double agent in modern history lay in a flower-strewn open coffin in Moscow's Kuntsevskiy military cemetery on May 18. As Boris, son of Russian-born fifth wife, wept, Soviet authorities held a state funeral for Harold Adrian Russell (Kiro) Philby, a spy who betrayed some of the innermost secrets of Western intelligence during the late 1940s and early 1950s. But Philby's pro-Soviet activities continue to bear poisonous fruit: after the master spy's death at the age of 70, Philby had access to crucial information as a British liaison officer to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. As a result, his 1963 defection caused a rupture between U.S. officials and their British counterparts that, according to analysts, still has not healed completely. And recently released secret CIA files show the chaos, fear and distrust that swept through the agency in the wake of Philby's appearance in Moscow. His defection focused suspicion on William Eveland, a former U.S. intelligence officer who agency officials closely believed had been a top-level source of information for Philby during the late 1950s.

Well before U.S. authorities began suspecting his connection to Eveland, Philby was the Washington-based liaison officer between the newly created

CIA and Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) between 1950 and 1964. In Washington, he had access to such valuable information as the joint plans of the two agencies, as well as code names and identities of Western spies within the Soviet Union. He also learned that U.S. and British spy cut-throats were seeking a Soviet mole in the British Foreign Service. Armed with that information, he was able to warn two Soviet spies, Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, to flee to Moscow in 1951. But those defections attracted suspicion to Philby. And while he successfully denied charges that he was a turncoat at a 1963 hearing in 1962, his career as a British intelligence officer was over, and he resumed his career as a journalist.

In 1965 Philby moved to Beirut, where he worked as a Middle East correspondent for the London-based newspaper *The Observer*—and at times as a freelance source of information for British intelligence. CIA files that Eveland obtained from the agency allege that Philby extracted information from Eveland about covert U.S. operations in the Middle East and Africa. But Eveland, who is now 69 and living in Massachusetts, told *Newsweek's* that he had resigned from intelligence work in 1960 without any charges being laid against him. Declined Eveland, "I never

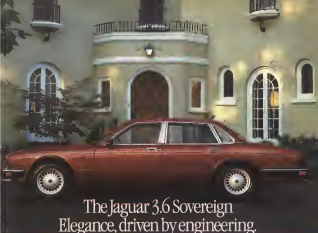
Dallas, the CIA director at the time. In Beirut, Eveland had full access to information on covert operations in the Middle East and Africa. But the documents give Eveland a poor rating as an intelligence officer and describe him as a heavy Scotch-drinker who had a tendency to talk too much. But Philby cast a wide net in Beirut. A former news deputy director confirmed that Philby had been successful at gaining information from several U.S. agents during his stay in Lebanon. Declined George Young, "Philby was friendly with all the Yanks in Beirut. A lot of them blabbed. He was pretty good at getting them to talk."

Still, Eveland staunchly rejects allegations that he was a spy agent in Philby. One instance cited in the files turns on the assertion of Philby's American-born third wife, Elzener. After her husband's 1963 defection to Moscow, she visited the Central Station in order to see her dying grandmother. During her visit, the CIA interrogated her and obtained a statement that named Eveland as her husband's principal informant in Beirut. But Eveland argues that she was forced to sign that statement in order to retrieve her passport. Still, Eveland, speaking of his Beirut tenure, "The truth is that during that period I met Philby maybe six times and was never in the same room with him alone." Now, a man whom former CIA director Dallas once described as "the best spy the Russians ever had" is dead. But the Washington and London, the effects of his shadowy work in espionage still live on.

—MALCOLM GRAY with WILLIAM LUTHERY in Washington

or passed anything to Philby. I had no secret documents anyway." Instead, Eveland maintains that he passed the files to the London-based *Sunday Times* newspaper in the hope that a story about his activities might hurt a publisher's interest in a manuscript that he has written. On May 25 the newspaper ran extracts from those papers under the headline "CIA's Philby file surfaces at last." Added Eveland, "The *Sunday Times* did a terrible hatchet job on me."

The CIA entrance note that Eveland had joined the agency in the spring of 1962 as a trouble-shooter who was employed directly by Allen



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New weapons in the war on diabetes

In 1991, four Toronto researchers—Frederick Banting, Charles Best, B. Collip and J. J. H. Macleod—found that a hormone extracted from pig pancreas activity controlled diabetes. Since that breakthrough, the discovery of insulin has prolonged the lives of millions of diabetes sufferers. Indeed, Canadian scientists remain in the vanguard of research on diabetes, a disease that is the third-ranked killer in North America, after heart disease and cancer. Recently, in fact, researchers at University Hospital in London, Ont., disclosed that they were preparing to implant live, insulin-secreting cells from pigs in volunteer diabetes. That would mark the world's first animal-to-human transplant of that type. According to Dr. Calvin Stiller, chief of the hospital's endocrine transplant service, that experiment could occur as early as next fall.

But Stiller and other scientists in the field stress that they still have not found a cure for Type 1, or insulin-dependent, diabetes—the most severe form of the disease. About 4,000 Canadians develop Type 1 diabetes each year—joining 180,000 other sufferers in the country who require daily injections of insulin to replace a hormone that their bodies can no longer produce or assimilate naturally. Still, many researchers say that work performed within the past two years alone has led to a greater understanding of diabetes—and increased their hopes of eventually conquering it. At the University of Calgary, microbiologist Ji-Wen Tso is developing vaccines to combat diabetes that he said he believes might cure 1 diabetes. According to one theory, those viruses cause the body's immune system to attack the pancreatic cells producing the insulin that regulates blood sugar levels. And in conjunction with European scientists, Stiller says that he has obtained promising results in clinical trials of cyclosporine, a powerful drug that is frequently used in transplant operations to prevent the body from rejecting foreign tissue.

Researchers have found that small, daily doses of cyclosporine frequently prevent the immune system from at-

tacking insulin-producing cells. Indeed, recent European and Canadian tests of more than 800 newly diagnosed diabetes have shown that the drug caused a remission in diabetes in 50 per cent of the participants—allowing them to forgo as many as four painful injections of insulin daily. But cyclosporine's extreme toxicity is a drawback: even the small doses that are routinely administered in diabetes-control tests



Sum insulin-producing cells in a gelatin-like capsule

cause unwanted growth of hair and gas tissue in most patients.

Still, such specialists as Dr. John Dupré, a professor of medicine at London's University of Western Ontario, say that cyclosporine—or a similar, less toxic substance—could represent the best chance of an injection-free future for newly diagnosed diabetes. And he and others note that diabetes specialists in France now are quick to begin cyclosporine treatments of new Type 1 patients in an attempt to prevent the destructive of insulin-producing cells called the islets of Langerhans.

Meanwhile, researchers at Toronto-based Connaught Laboratories Ltd., University of Toronto physiologist Dr. Anthony Sosa and Stiller's team say that they hope to determine if implanted animal cells can supply insulin to diabetes—duplicating a feat that the scientists have accomplished in trials with laboratory rats. The initial goal of the experiments involving diabetic volunteers, however, is simply to determine whether clusters of pancreatic cells from pigs are capable of surviving in the human body. To that end, Sosa has developed a prototype, a gelatin-like capsule that encloses one or two clusters, each one containing about 5,000 insulin-producing cells. The porous membrane of that capsule will have two functions: to govern blood sugar levels by allowing an immediate release of insulin, and, at the same time, shield the cells from attack by the body's immune system.

Many researchers and diabetes suffer say that they are hopeful of reaching the experiment's ultimate objective—providing diabetes with a supply of insulin from animal cells. If successful, that technique would offer sufferers greater protection from such complications of diabetes as blindness and heart disease that Sosa stressed that creating insulin-producing cells in pig pancreases remains a difficult, time-consuming procedure. Declared Sosa: "We have done a lot of work in this area at Connaught but we are not that confident about the process yet."

In their quest for a new diabetes treatment—a goal that could take several years to reach, Canadian researchers plan to inject the encapsulated cells into an abdominal cavity near the liver. That technique will allow the organ to absorb the insulin secretions before releasing them into the bloodstream. Meanwhile, daily injections remain a necessary survival routine for insulin-dependent diabetics. But the promising results of cyclosporine trials and the pending animal-cell transplants indicate that there are growing hopes for eventual victory over the disease.

—MAGGIE GRAY and MARIE MCNEILL
in Toronto

Ron CARIOCA

A TASTE OF THE ISLANDS

—MAGGIE GRAY and MARIE MCNEILL
in Toronto

The mystery of baseball

THE FURTHER ADVENTURES OF
SLUGGER McHITTER
By W. P. Kinsella
Vollmer, 276 pages, \$22.95, \$9.95 (paper)

THE DEAD FULL HITTER
By Alleen Gordon
McClelland and Stewart,
324 pages, \$19.95

For more than 100 years one of the first sounds of spring across North America has been the sharp crack of a bat making contact

with a baseball. But more recently that sound has become the harbinger of another annual rite: the baseball book. Veteran Canadian novelist and short-story writer W. P. Kinsella (*Shogun Joe*, *The Iowa Baseball Confederation*) and former Toronto Star sports reporter Alleen Gordon (*Final Bats*) both have new baseball books out this season. But while Kinsella's collection of 10 stories, *The Further Adventures of Slugger McHitter*, lifts the sport to the level of myth, Gordon's *The Dead Full Hitter* offers a more prosaic

and down-to-earth murder mystery. Like a crafty pitcher who relies more on deceptive off-speed throws than blazing fastballs, Kinsella takes the reader into a world where magic and reality are teammates. In one story, an eccentric, alcohol-soaked, abstract-minded man becomes the team mascot for the Seattle Mariners; in another, a reporter obsessively cross-examines America, trying to catch up to a legendary base stealer who may not even exist.

For Kinsella, baseball is a secular religion—mystical, symbol-laden and ultimately redemptive. In "R Mart," the narrator returns to the "damned factory town" of his adolescence and discovers that someone he once built a crush on has committed suicide. Disturbed not only by the young woman's tragic death but by the cowardly teen-

age brigade that years before had led him to unjustly regard her as "white trash," he looks for forgiveness—finding it in a pickup game with two old pals. That the local playing field is now a block-long R Mart store makes no difference. "Baseball is healing," he muses, moments before picking up a bat in front of several shoppers.

While *Slugger McHitter* is sometimes marred by a nostalgia too exquisite for even die-hard fans, Alleen Gordon's clever thriller, *The Dead Full Hitter*, occasionally suffers from a case of self-conscious journalistic excesses. Using the 1986 Toronto Blue Jays' presser drive as the vehicle for her fictionalized plot, Gordon mixes drugs, blackmail, romance and murder with an insider's knowledge of what happens both on and off the diamond. The novel's narrator,



Alleen Gordon: exquisite baseball nostalgia

48-year-old baseball reporter Kate Henry, has a gift for cynical one-liners ("He's at least an all-star in the mood men I know, and a lot less complicated," she says of her cell). Kate also has a knack for getting into trouble—especially when two star players in the "Team to Watch" are murdered. But along with the men she loves, Andy Morris, a tough-but-sensitive police detective, Kate manages to solve the crimes and get a great scoop for her efforts.

Although the two books are as different as *Autumn* (*Dead Full Hitter*) and real grass (*Shogun McHitter*), Gordon, and especially Kinsella, demonstrate why baseball appeals as much to readers in armchairs as to spectators in the stands.

—MURRAY EISEN

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FOR THE RECORD

New British jazz warrior

Britain has traditionally had a fascination with black-American music. And its rock musicians, drawing from those roots, have often created innovative sounds. But British jazz players have usually performed the role of tepid preservationists. Now, due largely to saxophonist Courtney Pine, jazz in Britain is coming into its own. Pine, 28, first gained wide exposure in 1980, when he teamed with Rolling Stones drummer Charlie Watts's big band. Then, in 1986, his debut album, *Journey to the Edge of Wisdom*, won wide acclaim. With two new recordings, *Destiny's Song* (Atlantic/WEA) and *Out of Many, One People*, Pine is almost single-handedly redefining British jazz.

Although promising, his first album was so eclectic that it made Pine appear unsure of his musical direction. *Destiny's Song* (Atlantic/WEA) removes such doubts. A clear statement of identity, it reveals Pine to be a musician and sane improviser. On fast tracks such as *Sacrilege* and *Beyond the Thought of My Last Reasoning*, he is furiously imaginative and passionate. He also shows melodic sensitivity with the ballad *Alone* and his evocative solo version of Thelma Houston's *'Round Midnight*. And like New Orleans-born trumpeter Wynton Marsalis, whose brother Delroy produced the album, Pine displays a deepening appreciation of American jazz from the early 1960s.

On *'One People'* (Atlantic/WEA), Pine's range widens considerably. The two albums—the first recording by Jazz Warriors, a 20-member group that Pine helped organize—features hip-hop arrangements and Caribbean rhythms. But while that may make for some exciting moments, the Warriors have not yet gelled as a musical unit. The imbalance between the industrial-strength horns and the strenuous approach of the rhythm section throws most of the tracks off. And aside from Pine, none of the band's soloists is sharp enough to cut through the album's often derivative arrangements. The Warriors work best as a jazz laboratory for the group's young, talented players. Still, *'One People'* provides a vivid picture of the burgeoning British jazz scene, which for now belongs almost entirely to Pine.

—DAVE THOMAS



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Nollan, Collet: An affirmer mother and a son who yearns for domestic harmony

THEATRE

Cold War in the family

SPOLDS OF WAR

By Michael Weller

Directed by Justin Prentiss

In *Spolds of War*, the latest work by New York playwright Michael Weller, the Cold War is a metaphor for a teenage boy's broken home. Set in the Rochester era, the play focuses on the attempts of Martin (Christopher Collet) to reunite his hard-drinking and adoring mother, Elise (Kate Nollan), with the underachieving father who abandoned him long ago—and whom he has never known. The domestic harmony that he craves proves as elusive as peace between the superpowers—a subject Martin pursues in a highly trained school class. His quest for the ideal family is the dramatic core of the play, now running at New York's Second Stage Theatre. But it is the surprising performance of Canada's Nollan that stands at the centre of Weller's quest: we witness new work.

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(Laurie Rynowald, who eagerly relinquished his political ideals to embrace the new materialism, is a practical entrepreneur. But, by the end, the boy appears destined to overcome his trauma.

As played by Nollan—who was so-called earlier this year as the widest Wall Street trader in the New York production of British playwright Caryl Churchill's *Shoestring Money*—Elise is a poetic matriarch. Although beautiful and resilient, she is doomed to lose, as the play it, "all the right words from the all the wrong men." And while there are echoes of the disillusioned former Resistance fighter Nollan portrayed in David Hare's *Plenty*, her Elise is much more passionate and vulnerable.

But it is hard to picture Elise as a leftist dedicated to causes other than her troubled personal life. In fact, the political backdrop is the play's weakest point. Her recurring belief, Joe Hill, seems more of a lurching swing coming from Elise, a cry for the regime was who will save her, that a cause as them still. *Spolds of War* represents an important turning point for Weller, who continues to chart emotionally rich terrain as one of America's brightest contemporary playwrights. By tapping the anguish of his addictions, he attains new heights and reaches far beyond the confines of his own generation.

—THEODORE LEE

OPERA

Sopranos of skid row

The seven male singers, occasionally dressed except for their pants and athletic shoes, caused that they dreaded walking past the weight-lifting room on their way to rehearsal. It was, they said, difficult enough to prepare for their roles as transvestites in a new opera, *Saint Carmine of the Mass*. But worse, the work was being staged at the hooded rock of the University of Guelph's athletic complex, where, according to baritone Robin Hart, some patrons "did not like having their territory invaded by half-wearing, head-banging, hairy men." But when Saint Carmine had its world premiere last week at Ontario's Guelph Spring Festival, the seven performers sang with cool assurance. Based on a play by Canada's leading dramatist of love, Michel Tremblay, and adapted by Winnipeg-born composer Sydney Hodkinson and librettist Les Davis, *Saint Carmine* emerged as a powerful work about skid-row despite "I loved it," said Tremblay, who attended the opening. "It was very moving."

In musical styles ranging from grand opera to jazz and country and western, the seven related the novel tragedy of Carmine (soprano Deborah Wilson), a country singer from a disreputable strip in downtown Montreal. The work opens with her triumphant return from Nashville to perform again for her old cohorts. Her new songs bring them a measure of hope, infatuation her boy-friend-agent Maurice (bass Christopher Cameron), who has her murdered.

The characters, Hodkinson said before the opening, are "the sort you would cross the street to avoid." Indeed, John Doolittle and Peter Barnes were so uncomfortable with their roles that they quit before rehearsals began. Mike Bradman, who directed Saint Carmine and is the festival's new artistic director, said that Doolittle, who had been cast as Maurice, had difficulty playing "a 19th-century real villain who says 'bullshit' all the time and beats his girlfriend."

Bradman acknowledged that Saint Carmine was "a very risky show for everyone involved." But, judging by the warm reception from the audience, the festival has grabbed and was with its long in Montreal's mean streets.

—PAMELA YOUNG in Guelph

A bracing breeze from Western Canada

Even Bradley lay awake one night last July, watching a videotape of Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show*. The legendary 72-year-old record producer, who had worked with such country-music stars as Patsy Cline and Loretta Lynn, was mesmerized at his home outside Nashville from a massive heart attack. Doctors insisted on total rest as his only chance for recovery. But Bradley insists that one of Carson's guests excited him so much that he was right up to bed. The performer was Canada's old dog. Although Bradley had hated the eccentric country artist's second album, the gaily, quipsy *Angel With a Lustre*, it was not until he saw her perform on a singing rendition of Cline's ballad *Three Cigarettes in an Ashtray* on Carson's show that he realized long's full potential. Defying his doctors and recovering quickly, Bradley—who had retired in 1968—went back to work to produce her new record, *Shades of Blue*. As he writes in the record's liner notes, "After working with her for awhile, I didn't need to take my pills. She was medicine, irrefragable, changing."

Since she burst onto the Canadian music scene three years ago, the 36-year-old singer from Canaan, Alta., has been a household name. From the West, she has helped to invigorate country music. Already, she is a Canadian overheard who imitates Anne Murray's crown as queen of country music at last year's *Juno Awards*—and was the pride of Canada last February when she led a wailing square dance at the closing ceremonies of the Winter Olympics in Calgary. Now Lynn, who is currently based in Vancouver, is stirring up excitement in the United States as well. She recently toured up with another musical legend, Ray Charles, to sing a stunning version of the rock veteran's classic ballad *Crying*. Their record has sold more than 50,000 copies in the United States. And since her debut appearance on *The Tonight Show* last May, long has become almost a staple of American television: Carson has had her back three times.

She also recently appeared on the new *Brothers & Sisters* program, and next

week she will be on *First Choice*, the Canadian pay TV network, singing alongside such top stars as Bruce Springsteen and Elton John. As Cline's backing group in the concert special *A Block and White Night*, said



Long: taking Nashville by storm with eccentric talent

long to a recent interview with *Afterburn* in Los Angeles, where she was making her TV appearance. "I am quite happy with what I have accomplished. I couldn't have asked for more."

Still, radio airplay in the United States has so far largely eluded her. And while her wacky humor and boyish looks—as well as the low-income letters

that she insists on using for her name—have confused some observers and led a few to doubt her artistic commitment, *Shades of Blue* is likely to change all that. The new album is a major turning point in long's career. With Bradley at the helm, she has found both a flattering showcase for her exceptional vocals and a way to come to terms with the late Patsy Cline, who has been her longtime mentor, respectively. Until now, long has combined classical theater with an almost obsessive admiration of the 1960s singer, whose songs she has recorded. But by working with Bradley, who produced all of Cline's hits—among them *Crump, Sweet Dreams* and *I Walk to a Fiddle*—long has pushed her artistry to new heights.

Although none of the songs on *Shades of Blue* is her own, they demonstrate long's interpretive skills and the full range of her vocals. A collection of mostly emotional ballads—known in country music as "weepers"—the album has a rich nostalgia as One Track, *Rocky Top*, *Angels*. *Wolves*, even features country stars Brenda Lee, Loretta Lynn and Patsy Cline. Lynn, says Bradley, pretends that contemporary Cline. According to long, it was an extremely rare experience. She added, "These are the people who have much influenced me. It was like working with the teachers."

Shades of Blue has emerged at a time when country music is rediscovering its roots. Currently, some of country's top stars, including Randy Travis, The Judds and Dwight Yoakam, are tapping the country album with traditional sounds and drawing attention to the music's greatness. In fact, Cline is undergoing a strong revival—at least in part due to long. This week, Cline's label, MCA Records, is releasing her greatest-hits collection on compact disc and issuing two previously unreleased recordings.

For long, whose last two albums gained only sporadic airplay on rock and country radio, *Shades of Blue* is destined to become a hit. Canadian country-music stations quickly picked up the first single, the acquired ballad *I've Dreamed to My Last Cigarette*, and this

week may be that they are keen for more. Said Doug Anderson of Ottawa's *CFMT*: "My listeners are enjoying the first single, and when I play the *Angels* Medley, they go wild." Added Larry Donahue, music director of Edmonton's *CFMT*: "With this album, she has finally found

to be a little more conservative than that," he said. "It's pretty extreme for them to accept."

The contrast of long's masculine appearance with the pronounced femininity of many country artists is rarely more apparent than in the video for *Angels*.



Long with Cline, Bradley, White and Lynn in the studio with the legends of country music

her niche." That sentiment is largely echoed in Nashville, where long is becoming a rising star. Said Michael McCall, music critic of the *Nashville Banner*: "She is one of the most exciting new artists to come around in a while."

Despite long's association with respected country-music veterans, some observers seem to be suspicious still of her effort to imitate the youngest of four children of legendary cowboy Adam Long and his schoolteacher wife, Audrey, she showed signs of a strong personal style even before she enrolled in theatre arts in high school in the town of Consort (population 673), 240 km southeast of Edmonton. Her first ambition was to be a roller-disco queen. To earn money in the summer, she drove a three-ton grain truck for local farmers. And when she launched her music career, she performed with such props as wine and a rocking horse and claimed to be the reincarnation of Elvis.

Robert R. Gorman, music critic for *Nashville's* morning daily, *The Tennessean*, says that while he recognizes long's performing abilities, he has doubts about her artistic creativity. Said Gorman: "She is in some kind of limbo between being a new wave and a country artist." Gorman also says that long's new look—she went from wearing colorful square-dance skirts to dark pantsuits—may also be a stumbling block for her. "The country audience

sees Medley in it, long's short-cropped hair and male attire clash with the bonnet and high-heeled shoes worn by backup singers Lee Lynn and Wells. But long says that it would be absurd for her to reject the lyrical-melodic lack of her colleagues, adding: "They have a persona that they developed in their prime. I am a woman of the late 1960s and have been nicknamed 'punk and boy George.'" Meanwhile, Lee Lynn and Wells have embraced long's strong sense of identity: "I've got to have something that's all your own if you want to stand out," with Wells, 67. "And she has an originality that makes her

stand out."

In keeping with her androgynous image, long refuses to wear makeup. In fact, earlier this year when *Country* magazine chose long as its 1988 *Woman of the Year*, the singer posed unadorned for the cover photograph. But when the magazine's January issue appeared, long said that she was surprised to find that the cover featured her with red lips. Cline's former *Million Times* demand that the photo was destroyed, and she explained that the ragged appearance may have resulted from an excess of oil on the glasses. Still, long remains good-humored about the incident.

Even without makeup, the artist seems assured of major success in show business. This summer she takes her live show on a tour of Europe and the

United States, where she will perform in arenas ranging from 1,800-seat clubs to 8,000-seat arenas. As a result of her effort to make a breakthrough in American country circles, long will appear only briefly in Canada this summer: on July 22 at the Big Valley Festival in Green, Sask., and for a two-week tour of the Maritimes in August. Then, she returns to the studio with a new, as-yet-unreleased producer and her band, The Backbeats, to record an album of original compositions, one that while she admits to have her little time for a personal life, long—who is single—says that she is committed to her career. She added, "I plan to put in a first good year of hard work and retire early."

While long dreams of an early retirement, Bradley credits her for bringing her act of her. As he writes to long in the notes to *Shades of Blue*, "Well, kid, I love you for changing me out of the woodwork and getting me involved in music again just for the music. It's what my whole life has been about." Bradley is proud that the outrageous singer from Alberta is a talent to be reckoned with, backed, with her vocal skill and versatile style.

And long is changing the look and sound of country music.

—NICHOLAS JENNINGS with
AARON GIBSON in Los Angeles

MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Iceberg*, Anthony (10)
- 2 *The Tempest*, Shakespeare (10)
- 3 *Zero*, Stein (10)
- 4 *Blackboard*, Stein (10)
- 5 *The Last Princess*, Proulx (10)
- 6 *King of the Marrows*, Kipling (10)
- 7 *2001: Odyssey Two*, Clarke (10)
- 8 *Treasure*, Cooper (10)
- 9 *Lightness*, Kinsella (10)
- 10 *The Borderline of the World*, (10)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Trump: The Art of the Deal*, Trump (10)
- 2 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (10)
- 3 *Elmore's Tale*, O'H (10)
- 4 *Thriving on Chaos*, Peters (10)
- 5 *Time Flies*, Conly (10)
- 6 *Canadian Living Cookbook*, (10)
- 7 *History of Canada*, (10)
- 8 *White Wolf*, Andrews (10)
- 9 *Shadows*, Jackson (10)
- 10 *Shore the Flame*, Helton (10)

—Compiled by Sandra McLaughlin

Beware of liars and meddlers

By Allan Fotheringham

In the great scale of things, it is hard to decide which are the most bothersome type of people—liars or meddlers. Liars are at least consistent; if they have a virtue, you just take as a given that everything they tell you is untrue, and you pay no attention and you get on with things. If, periodically, they come out with a truth, and you refuse to believe it or trust it, and they suffer as a result—well, that's tough luck. Meddlers are worse because they won't go away (We are leaving aside here even more bothersome specimens such as bureaucrats, because the subject today is liars and meddlers.) Meddlers need to say, the worst fate that can befall anyone is to come upon a meddlership who is also a liar.

This is pertinent, because it has been revealed that the liars who negotiated the free trade agreement turn out to be meddlers also. We don't have a high opinion of governments in the first place, but this example is a classic. Not only no truth, but interference to boot. Another triumph for public trust.

We already knew that Ottawa had to be by claiming that cultural factors were not on the free trade bargaining table. The emancipation of Flora MacDonald's film distribution policy—Flora's boxes packed clean by the Maritimes cabinet that bowed to White House pressure—proved that now, something more hideous than outrageous has been unearthed in the free trade. A preview is the free trade agreement states that journalists must hold a university degree to benefit from related immigration rules.

The cartoon has proven unable to define what a reporter is. So now some think sitting in an Ottawa tower, aided by some paper-shuffler in Washington, has decided that the will define the beast. The free trade pact (will not approved on either side of the border) has a list of professions that would have advantages from regulations on temporary entry to the United States. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Saskatoon News*.

or Canada. Journalists are described as people with a bachelor's degree and three years' experience.

The twits who are meddling about in areas they have not are going to have some trouble with Peter Macdonald. The archbishop of the Holy Mother Corp., and the new hero of Canadian nationalism, doesn't have a degree—just stating his career as a *Trudeau* haggard. What are they going to do? Frisk him at the border for an IQ test? Raising Farley Mowat was funny enough, but this has even better possibilities.



You can't be too careful when you're a government twit. I hope that they intercept, when he next attempts furiously to cross a border, the courtly one: Washington correspondent known as Joe Schlesinger. The ex-Cochran has a mind so swift that he can't stand those who can't keep up, with the result that he is one of the few humans around who went through elementary school, high school (a war contributed some

delay) and university without bothering to collect a graduating certificate from any of them.

If the twits are really difficult, as most government types are, they can keep on their toes and intercept at the border the most literate journalist in the country, Bruce Haldiman, whose books have defined Canada. He never bothered to go to university, which as you can see has really hurt him, and when he makes his annual jaunt to Harvard to commune with McGeorge Bundy and his trusty Washington cronies, I hope that they ask him vigorously before he can do any harm to the fabric of the free trade agreement by defying its definitions.

Get any three reporters together in a bar and within 30 minutes there will be a fight over the nature of journalism. Is it a profession? A trade? A calling? Or what? Kipling had it best when he described it as "the black art." It is history-in-a-hurry, neither high literature nor low comedy. The one thing it is not is something to be defined by governments, therefore licensed by governments, therefore regulated by governments.

What twit is what Bob Cratchit coughed in Ottawa is going to decide—when it comes to relaxed immigration rules—whether Claire May does or does not qualify? Did Claire May ever go to university? Did Claire May ever go to school? I don't know. Who cares? Whose business is it? Not the government's, I can tell you. The entire staff of The Globe and Mail would qualify, but perhaps not the Griffin Pocket & Tins. Do we want a meddlership law to decide who gets the easy route and who gets the hard route?

The twits in Ottawa and the twits in Washington can keep their hands off the black art. We can make our own way back and forth across borders, thank you. Restrict your boss-mongering to slinks and shingles and low-grade wags. Otherwise, I'll call in the Prime Minister's press secretary, Bruce Phillips, pride of Thunder Bay, who is redolent with degrees (from many press clubs) and would be glad to give you his opinion on your new obsession.



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